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Machismo and the border : challenges to ideology and Chicano/a gender roles

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MACHISMO AND THE BORDER
CHALLENGES TO IDEOLOGY AND CHICANO/A GENDER ROLES

A Thesis

Presented to

The Faculty of the Department of Mexican American Studies

San Jose State University

In Partial Fulfillment

of the Requirements for the Degree

Master of Arts

By

Monique Mary Mowad

August 2007

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ABSTRACT

MACHISMO AND THE BORDER CHALLENGES TO THE IDEOLOGY AND CHICANO/A GENDER ROLES

By Monique Mary Mowad

This thesis examines the difference between the way Chicanos/as and Mexican immigrants understand and interpret machismo in the U.S. This thesis examines the factors that cause machismo to change as Mexican immigrants assimilate into American culture. This study focuses on how gender influences the interpretation and practice of machismo.

The research shows that machismo is a set of covert and overt manifestations that are exercised by all men, in the public and private sphere. Educational attainment and assimilation rather than economic status play a large role in the perpetuation of machismo in American society. Machismo becomes more covert in higher rungs of the educational hierarchy rather than the higher rungs of the economic hierarchy. The research concludes that machismo transcends into the family structure where men and women engage in a power struggle.

This work is dedicated to my father, Edward Mowad who has always inspired my curiosity about gender roles. I also dedicate this work to all the women who continue the fight against patriarchal oppression and to my sons Eduardo Jeshua and Enrique Antonio may you always question patriarchal privilege.

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La revolucion no empieza por el hogar sin por la sociedad, y la liberacion de la mujer sera al mismo tiempo en la liberacion del hombre (Castaneda, 2002, p. 10).

Introduction

La raza humana desarrollo nombres y creo reglas para normar el comportamiento fundamentalmente benigno de los miembros de un grupo hacia sus companeros, actitud protectora y maternal que evoluciono hasta protectora y maternal hasta convertirse en la mitificacion y deificacion de la mujer.¹

The ideology of machismo has been described as both a cult and a code of masculinity for Latino men. The word macho is derived from the Aztec word which means the image or reflection of myself. "Macho literally denotes a male animal like a he-goat, or he-mule. [It is] also used to distinguish the male (macho) from the female (hembra)" (Mirande, 1997, p. 149). Machismo "has numerous and diverse connotations in Mexico and the United States and is often associated with exaggerated masculinity, male chauvinism or extreme male supremacist ideology" (Mirande, 1997, p. 149). Machismo is also associated with being machista (sexist), violent towards women, female inferiority, exaggerated virility, and extreme aggressiveness. The ideology of machismo appears to be paradoxical, while on the one hand this external view of machismo is often thought of when a man is referred to as being "macho," there exists an internal code of ethics that defines machismo. This internal code of ethics dictates that to be a "man" is to be loyal, honest, sincere, modest, respectful, and to define of your own beliefs.

¹ " Machismo Cuando se importa la virilidad ante todo" Revista Muy Interesante Volume 32, October 14, 2003 pg 44.

A man who claims to be muy macho who thinks he is chingon, who goes around holding his genitals and committing numerous chingaderas or who is otherwise fixated on proving his manhood is not macho. In a manner reminiscent to pre-Colombian ideal of masculinity, a real macho according to this idea is honest, respectful, modest self-effacing, and self-less. (Mirande, 1997, p. 143)

The Historical Roots of Machismo

There are many myths and theories that surround the ideology of machismo. It has been written that machismo was brought to the indigenous people of Mexico during the conquest by the Spanish. The Spanish men demonstrated exaggerated aggressiveness, sexual power and dominance as they raped and enslaved the indigenous women and conquered the Americas. Octavio Paz, offered the idea in his book *The Labyrinth of Solitude*, that the Mexican suffers an inferiority complex which derives from the Spanish Conquest, and that the external characteristics of exaggerated masculine traits are a reaction to this inferiority.

Octavio Paz attributed the Mexican's deep seated feelings of "inferiority" to the spiritual rape and conquest of Mexico-a defeat that was so devastating that it proved to be not only a military conquest but a spiritual and moral downfall.

(Mirande, 1997, p.35)

The Anglo perspective of machismo regularly follows the inferiority complex theory that both Octavio Paz and Samuel Ramos used to explain the Mexican psyche. The Anglo perspective usually expressed "the Mexican male's obsession with power and domination as futile attempts to mask feelings of inferiority, powerlessness and failure"

(Mirande, 1997, p. 77). This perspective is often portrayed through the media and literature. Male characters are characterized as overly aggressive chauvinistic drunks who abuse their wives. Thus, the ideology of machismo through media, literature and folklore has created a negative image of what it is to be “macho.” For many Mexican and Latino men, machismo is equated with honor, the responsibility and selflessness to provide and protect his family. To be macho, is to be able to be a provider and protector of the family which is the core priority for a man in Mexican society. Ana Castillo in the *Massacre of the Dreamers* brought up an interesting counter-point to the ideology of machismo. Castillo argued that societies have been based on patriarchal systems which require the women to be dependent on men for their “well-being”.

The basic question for women regarding machismo is not only what are men protecting us from, but why? One might respond since laws and society has been created on behalf of men and not in the interest of women, only men can intercede on women’s behalf. (Castillo, 1995, p. 10)

Castillo asserted that patriarchal systems in the past were designed in such a way that women were dependent on men for their livelihood. For example Castillo explained that before the 1970’s unwed pregnant women were not eligible for medical insurance for prenatal care. She continued,

heterosexism and sexist laws reinforced with the nuclear family construct a world in which a woman finds herself financially, sexually and or emotionally dependent on a man. (1995, p. 67) The subordination of woman’s sexuality was crucial for the survival of patriarchal and religious practices. (1995, p.107)

As Castillo argued, machismo stems from patriarchal ideologies that are reinforced through out society in order to support patriarchal dominance by creating a system of where women find themselves in subordinate positions and therefore dependent on men for their survival and well being.

Marianismo

Marianismo has been essential in defining and confining the roles of women through history. Marianismo is the counterpart of machismo; it is related to the Virgin Mary as the image of the spiritual superiority that women are to strive to achieve. It teaches women that they are morally and spiritually stronger than men. Characteristics of marianismo are premarital chastity, spiritual strength and morality. Like machismo it has Mediterranean roots.

This patriarchal concept views women as being “saintly, divine, maintaining purity, enduring pain silence...The veneration of the Virgin Mary defined the woman’s identity as a virgin, as a saintly mother, as a wife-sex object, as a martyr”² The church institution used the idea of marianismo to enforce the social moral that women were to remain pure until marriage. “The colonial Catholic Church superimposed its ideology during this period and justified the oppression of conquest as something good. Marianismo, the veneration of the Virgin Mary, became the model of how to make oppression a religious obligation” (Nieto-Gomes, 1995, p. 48-49). Women who engaged in sexual relations prior to marriage were and still are today stigmatized by the same patriarchal institutions that hold virgins in high esteem, while non virtuous women are portrayed through images

² Dr. Julia Curry-Rodriguez, Lecture MAS 205, 3-30-04 San Jose State University

such as La Llorona³ or La Malinche⁴ whose sexuality condemned their virtue, honor and worth as human beings. “Marianismo portrayed the woman as semi-divine, morally superior and spiritually stronger than her master because of her ability to endure pain and sorrow”(Nieto-Gomez, 1995, p. 48-49).

Chicanas today remain defined by religious institutional standards of virtue. Chicanas, particularly, Catholics, are socialized to adhere to the virtuous image and archetype of the Virgen de Guadalupe.⁵ “The dual identity of the virgin/mother archetype has set up a defeating model for women” (Castillo, 1995, p. 119).

It is interesting to look at the images of the virgin mother and to examine the contradiction that this image holds for women. In order for a woman to be a mother she must have sexual relations, and according to patriarchal based societies, a woman who has had sexual relations is no longer pure and has lost her elevated position in society. Patriarchy creates a hierarchy within its structure, men being the dominant force of the hierarchy, and a woman’s virtue being a determining factor of her position within the given hierarchy. Due to society’s need to repress a woman’s sexuality, mythological archetypes such as La Virgen de Guadalupe, reflect the religious moral code that women

³ **La Llorona** –“The weeping woman folklore has that she drowned her own children to go off with a lover then was cursed by God to search for them throughout eternity. She is almost always sighted near water, and men above all fear the vision” (Castillo, 1997, p. 107). Some legends state that La Llorona is actually La Malinche who is searching for her lost children that were taken back to Spain by Hernan Cortez.

⁴ **La Malinche**-Malintzin Tenepal an Aztec woman whose name is often referred to as La Malinche has carried the burden of being the “indigenous Eve” or the Icon for the “mala mujer.” Malintzin’s story as interpreted through patriarchal viewpoints deems her as a traitor who brought the downfall of the entire Aztec nation while serving as a translator, confidant, and lover to Hernan Cortez after she was betrayed by her own family and sold to Cortez as a slave.

⁵ **Virgen De Guadalupe**-“According to the sixteenth –century oral tradition, the Virgin appeared on the hill of Tepeyac to an Indian named Juan Diego in December 1531. To prove that she was truly the Virgin Mary, she caused her image to appear miraculously on his cloak-the image of a dark-skinned Virgin.” In 1737 she was made the official patron saint of Mexico referred to as Our Lady of Guadalupe. (Meir,156)

must remain virgins in order to be virtuous and worthy human beings, but at the same time reflect the image of “giver of life,” as mother. We see this contradiction reflected in linguistic expressions such as “puta madre, en la madre, ni madre, pinche madre, son of a bitch, motherf---er. These images of women still breed the necessity that a woman’s virtue must be protected thus, continuing the patriarchal male role as protector of not only the woman’s honor but that of the family.

Machismo in the United States

The proximity of the U.S./Mexican border has meant forms of acculturation on both sides of the border. This is particularly visible in the influx of English words and concepts in the Spanish language. Words such as “movie,” “ride,” and “watch” are a few examples of the infiltration of English crossing the border and becoming part of the Spanish language. This same phenomenon is very visible here in the U.S. The terms machismo and macho have been integrated into American culture and ideology by both Hollywood and corporate America. Both groups perpetuate the Anglo understanding of machismo as being big, tough, manly and strong in the images that vary from what it means to be a masculine male in the U.S to the marketing of products geared to a male clientele. Both Hollywood and corporate America infiltrate Anglo and Chicano communities with images of what it means to be masculine in the U.S by hiding behind the term of machismo or its derivative macho. Although we order the Del Taco macho burrito, or use the word “machismo” interchangeably in the English language with the word chauvinism, what is really known about the true meaning of machismo in the United States?

Living in the U.S we all experience some level of struggle whether it is based on race, class or gender. Capitalism intensifies this struggle by perpetuating patriarchal ideologies that are integrated into our economic and social system which forces its participants to compete and struggle to achieve in American society. Chicanas and Chicanos battle patriarchal expectations that define their gender roles based on dominant culture ideals of what it means to be Chicano/a in the United States. The same social system that perpetuates racism, classism, and gender discrimination also stigmatizes women into positions in society where they are viewed as inferior to men, and Chicano men struggle with the stigma of being effeminate as they are stratified as being inferior to White men. Simply, the concept of rejecting the image of being effeminate reveals the society's gender preference for the characteristics that have been categorized as masculine and the rejection and devaluation of things classified as feminine. Society, based on patriarchal systems engages in a power struggle with men, in which men must fight for respect and honor in society's terms which are based on the oppression and objectification of women. In turn in order for men to gain and maintain respect, he must then engage in a power struggle with women, and control the women in order to guarantee that they obey the rules of society so that he is not looked upon as inferior. For ethnic minorities, especially the Chicano/a community this form of struggle creates internal division and thus the inability to unite for the common good of fighting for the end of oppression in the United States. It is difficult to fight oppression along side your oppressor, even if he belongs to the same ethnic or racial community. For the Chicana, fighting oppression in the United States means confronting the concept that although the

Chicano male suffers oppression due to race and class, he also holds the role as oppressor when examining oppression along gender lines. Chicanas find themselves in a conflicting position in which they must recognize that that fighting oppression in the United States is not limited to race and class struggles but it includes struggles against sexism which is perpetuated internally by Chicanos as well as mainstream society. In order for Chicanos/as to be able to achieve social equality and break patriarchal images that confine us we must address the ideology of machismo that oppresses both Chicano and Chicana men and women in the United States.

Purpose of the Study

This study addresses the very important question, what is the ideology of machismo and does it change as Mexican communities assimilate and or acculturate into the United States? If so does this affect the role of the Chicana and Mexicana within the family structure? In order to answer these questions this project begins with the exploration of how machismo has been defined historically by both Anglo and Chicano scholars. The literature presented in this study serves as a point of reference to show both the political and social motivations of defining the ideology of machismo. The literature examines how machismo was once perceived to be a cultural trait of the Mexican family thus defining the Mexican family as culturally deficient. Anglo scholars used the perception of the culturally deficient Mexican family while defending the push to assimilate Mexican immigrants into White America. The research presented is an attempt to examine beyond machismo as a cultural phenomenon which is relegated to the private sphere and to critically analyze why machismo transcends national borders and continues to be perpetuated in the United States in both Chicano and Mexican families.

This study examines how issues of social class, race, assimilation, economic status and educational attainment levels influence and contribute to the attitudes towards machismo held by both Chicano and Mexicano men and women living in the United States. Through these variables this project examines how Chicano/a and Mexicano/a men and women define machismo and how this ideology is manifested in the way power and control is distributed in the private sphere.

This study explores and theorizes the causes and effects of machismo when it transcends into the private sphere, namely the domestic space. The research presented attempts to theorize and explain the unequal distributions of power and control that manifest in both the Mexican and Chicano family as well as in the public sphere. The theory building in this study attempts to explore the ramifications of unequal power distributions contributed by the patriarchal composition of machismo. In order to explore these issues and those of race, class and gender that affects the daily lives of Chicanos/as in the U.S the following questions were researched and addressed:

RESEARCH QUESTIONS

1. How do Mexican and Chicano/a women and men define the terms “macho” “machista,” and “machismo”? Are these definitions positive or negative? How do these definitions compare and contrast?
2. How is educational attainment linked to attitudes about machismo?
3. How are economics and social class linked to attitudes about machismo?
4. Do acculturation and/or assimilation influence attitudes and beliefs of machismo?
5. Does capitalism influence or affect machismo? Does this affect men and women differently? If so how?
6. How do the perceptions of machismo influence behaviors of Chicano/as and Mexicano/as and the distribution of power within the family?

CHAPTER 1
LITERATURE REVIEW

Literature Review Introduction

Machismo “may be broadly equated in cultural terms with the notion of being a man, something that is not believed to happen naturally or biologically but as a result of struggle” (Abalos, 2002, p.10). It is a struggle caused by the oppression of patriarchal organization of society by class, race, gender and it is intensified in the United States by the capitalist paradigm. Machismo is an ideology in which there exists a constant struggle for power and control, by maintaining one member of the struggle inferior and powerless. Religious institutions reinforce these power struggles which stratify women in positions which are continuously inferior to men, at the same time Chicano men battle to adhere to religious expectations that expect them to be authoritarians and patriarchal heads of the home. Chicano men thus, struggle to achieve and maintain this role in a society that is woven with racism and classism and does not make it easy for minority men to achieve positions of power. In response to this struggle between church and state Chicano and Mexican male immigrants find themselves compensating for the feeling of inferiority that they experience due to racism and classism, by adhering to an alternative ideology, that of machismo. Abalos explained that Latino men are victims of archetypical images of what a Latino male is supposed to be from both the Latino culture as well the capitalist society and tribalism.

The story of the disappointed male. They hang on the fragment of life, a wounded masculinity, in order to have a sense of power and find ways to get with society that daily turns into objects. The response to this dilemma has been the story of patriarchal machismo. Machismo is Latino men’s inherited understanding of being

in charge of taking command, un hombre muy macho. (Abalos, 2002, P.10)

The literature examined attempts to challenge the myths and stereotypes of machismo, and uncover the intricate dimensions of this ideology. “As studies under review demonstrate, masculinity and machismo are complex and malleable concepts that invite contestation and reinterpretation by individuals, groups and scholars” (Beattie, 2002). The literature in this review examines eight different theories of machismo that have attempted to explain in both cultural and political terms the ideology of machismo. The literature has been divided into eight theories of thought, reflecting ideological changes and challenges to the understanding of the theory for each given era: (1) machismo defined by a cultural deficiency model, (2) machismo defined by a psycho-analytical model, (3) machismo through a deconstructionist model, (4) machismo as a response to internal colonialism, (5) machismo as a revisionist model, (6) machismo as a binary, (7) machismo as a response to capitalism and, (8) machismo as a response to patriarchy. The reader will see how race, class and gender are reflected in each of these models and in the way the ideology is interpreted and understood. The selected literature helps develop a framework which more readily explains the complexity of the ideology of machismo by taking the principle underpinnings of each theory and viewing them as segments which intricately work together to create the complexity of machismo as an ideological extension of white patriarchal values in the United States.

Literature Overview

Early scholarship on machismo was conducted by Anglo social scientists, Humphrey (1944) and Jones (1948) who examined the ideology of machismo within the private

sphere of Mexican families. Early scholars viewed machismo as a patriarchal display of power and dominance over subordinate family members which was perceived to be a cultural deficiency of the Mexican family as patriarchy was not viewed as an Anglo characteristic. This early scholarship reflected the racial and class biases of the dominant society by portraying the Mexican family as culturally deficient due to the theory that the family structure was based on machismo in which preconceived gender roles created a dysfunctional family unit where the patriarch subordinated the females and younger males of the family. Humphrey defined the Mexican family structure as being a set of culturally defined roles in which the male held a position of authority over the subordinate family members. As Humphrey explained,

The family is a social structure. A social structure is regarded here as a system of culturally defined status roles which form a relatively stable nexus of subordinate and superordinate selves....When there is agreement as to the definitions of status roles in a culture a social structure is stable, since duties and obligations accord with the roles which individuals must act...The roles of members are rather strictly defined by pervasive folk culture. The father occupies a position in which he exercises considerable authority over his wife and children, and some of this power is extended to his grown sons. (Humphrey, 1944, p. 662)

Such scholarship was not only lacking in empirical evidence, but reflected cultural biases and attempts to portray the Mexican immigrant as culturally deficient and pathological in order to justify the subordination of immigrants in dominant culture. This early scholarship portrayed machismo through such a narrow scope, that not only

misinterpreted the power structures within the family unit as a cultural trait, but the scholarship failed to examine the structural factors in the public sphere that influenced machismo and allowed for its manifestation in the private sphere.

In the 1950's and the 1960's, the emergence of a psychological analysis of the Mexican psyche emerged in which scholars such as Bermudez (1955), Paz (1961), Ramos (1965), Rubel (1966), and Guerrero (1967) attempted to extend the cultural deficiency model by explaining machismo as a psychological underpinning of the pathological mind of the Mexican male. These scholars attempted to theorize that the cultural value system of machismo was linked to the need to emulate the power structure in the private sphere. Paz and Ramos in particular discussed the wounded psyche of the Mexican who suffers from an inferiority complex which was theorized to have dated back to the Spanish colonization of the Aztecs in Mexico. The feeling of inferiority as a colonized people and the failure to assimilate into dominate Anglo culture paired with the perceived cultural practice of machismo was theorized to have created pathological behavior and neurosis in the Mexican family. Thus, machismo was viewed as a psychological disorder triggered by the perceived cultural deficiency of the Mexican which prevented him from assimilating into dominant culture and thus created a feeling of inferiority which resulted in a pathological psyche.

Americo Paredes (1967) attempted to challenge the pathological theory of machismo and explain that machismo rather was a set of characteristics which were brought by Anglo cowboys and abandoned once they gained power and control over Mexican land. Paredes theorized that in response to losing his land to the Anglo, the Mexican adopted

machismo left by the Anglo in order to compensate for his loss. Rather than machismo being a pathological disorder culturally inherent to the Mexican, Paredes argued it was an Anglo trait adopted by the Mexican cowboy during the period of Manifest Destiny.

The 1970's were a pivotal period in which the cultural deficiency model used to understand machismo was being challenged on the basis that the research used to substantiate these theories lacked in empirical evidence and methodological grounding. Montiel (1970) refuted the research conducted claiming that machismo was used loosely to describe the Mexican family without any methodology or evidence to support the conclusions of pathological behavior and cultural inferiority. The earlier scholarship in the 1970's continued to examine machismo in terms of its manifestations in the private sphere and the role of the male within the family structure, ignoring the effects on the female gender role and the distribution of power and control that is associated with the ideology. Scholarship on machismo to this point reflected a cultural interpretation of perceived masculinity within the Mexican and Chicano family. The scholarship did not examine machismo in terms of universal patriarchy and structural underpinnings which created unequal distributions of power and control along gender roles in the family structure and along gender, race and class systems.

In the 1970's the Chicano Student Movement brought challenges to the cultural deficiency and psycho-analytical models. Machismo was now being theorized under an internal colonial model, which maintained the ideology of machismo as a form of cultural resistance against the race and class inequalities that Chicanos faced in the public sphere. Under the scholarship of this period, we see a more romanticized depiction of the macho

as a protector and provider of not only the family, but of the Chicano cultural value system. The romanticized portrayal of the Chicano family embraced machismo as a cultural family trait, which became a haven and from the oppressions in the public sphere. This era of scholarship also reflected now the changing voice of Chicana feminist women who were challenging now a third oppression, that of sexism and patriarchy. Machismo for the first time was now being examined by feminist scholars who confronted the conflict of viewing machismo as a form of cultural resistance against the race and class oppressions that affected the “macho,” while at the same time critiquing the ideology for oppressing Chicana women within the public sphere. The research of Sosa Riddell (1974), Zinn (1975) and Nieto (1976), began to examine machismo from structural perspectives and address the dyad of machismo as being a response to internal colonial oppression in the public sphere by the macho while being oppressive to Chicanas in the private sphere. Although, gender issues were used to challenge the ideology, machismo was theorized as a positive cultural trait used to empower men as they negotiate the public sphere.

The Chicano/a scholarship of the 1980’s began to view machismo under a revisionist model in which scholars such as Mirande (1981) began to challenge the theory that machismo was a cultural trait and a tool of resistance against internal colonial oppressions. Mirande offered a revisionist theory which challenged scholars to re-examine the idea of machismo as a cultural value. He argued that earlier scholars embraced the stereotypes set by the cultural deficiency model. The revisionist model brought forth the conceptualization of machismo as a binary in which there are the

stereotypical ideological traits of machismo as defined by the cultural deficiency model, and there are the positive traits that are assigned to true masculinity such as provider, protector, etc. The binary model has served as a theory for understanding and articulating machismo into stereotypical negative traits, and positive traits that are associated with being a true man. The binary model represented the struggle males have undergone with their identity as a male and as a Chicano. Under this model, Chicanos embraced attributes such as endurance, strength, respect, and honor as positive traits of machismo while denouncing the perceived negative traits that are often associated with oppression of women. The binary model, like its predecessors, failed to address the power dynamics of the ideology of machismo and the way that these dynamics play out in both the public and private sphere along race, class and gender lines.

The research conducted in the 90's began to explore machismo in terms of an ideology rather than a cultural trait. Scholars moved away from the cultural binary debate, and started looking at the structural components both in the public and private sphere that both influenced and explained machismo. It is in this decade that machismo was analyzed as not necessarily an ideology confined within the parameters of the private sphere but rather as a coping mechanism for working class Mexican and Chicano men as they negotiate the structural inequalities in the public sphere. Machismo started being viewed as a multi-dimensional ideology that incorporates earlier theories about the feeling of inferiority and cultural resistance by explaining how these elements in fact are caused by the racial and economic oppression that has created economic struggle for the Chicano and Mexican male. This theory began the query into how this struggle then is

displaced on the Chicana in the private sphere and creates an internal struggle between the Chicano and Chicana.

The scholarship of the late 90's built upon the response to the capitalist model, and created a model to explain machismo as not only a response to capitalism, but rather a more universal response to patriarchy. By the late 90's scholars, particularly Chicana feminist scholars moved past examining machismo in terms of race and class struggle, and centered more on the issues of power and control of females by males. Castillo (1995) discussed machismo as a patriarchal ideology, rather than an ideology that belongs solely to Chicano and Mexican males. Castillo discussed machismo in terms of being a segment or part of the ideology of patriarchy in which men are in struggle with one another to compete for control and power of women. Such a theory refuted the conceptualization of the binary model where there is a positive and negative machismo, but rather all machismo is oppressive because under a patriarchal model, all machismo is negative and designed to oppress women. Along with this theory Scholars begin to re-examine the ideology of machismo through a revised binary model which acknowledges the stereotypical images of machismo while discussing the covert forms of machismo which have patriarchal roots and have become imbedded in our daily lives and disguised as positive masculine traits. Although these later theories have been pertinent in unpacking the ideology of machismo, they fail to explain the implications of the patriarchal control and power that is sought through machismo and the effects that this has on women in both the public and private sphere.

Machismo-Cultural Deficiency Model

Norman Humphrey (1944) set Mexican family studies in gear with his research on Mexican families in Detroit. He studied the Mexican family through the lens of machismo in order to study the family dynamics in his case studies. Through this study machismo became defined as a culturally created gender role for the Mexican male. Humphrey defined the Mexican family as a strict patriarchal based social structure.

The roles of members are rather strictly defined by pervasive folk culture.

The father occupies a position in which he exercises considerable authority over his wife and children, and some of this power is extended to his grown sons. (Humphrey, 1944, p. 662)

Humphrey's main premise was based on the theory that the Mexican family structure is defined by rigid cultural values and definitions. Humphrey felt that the father as patriarch would lose his authoritative position in the family due to the inability of the father to assimilate into a new culture upon immigration. "The immigration of the Mexican family to the United States created special problems that would not be encountered had the family remained in Mexico" (Montiel, 1970, p. 61).

These special problems included the inability to assimilate to the new culture which would reflect a change in the father to hold his position of dominance in the family which was structured according to cultural prescriptions. This inability to assimilate would weaken his position in society which in turn would greatly affect his ability to provide economically for his family. "The failure of the father to provide adequately for his

family created a decline in the status of the father and a lessening of the respect in the new culture” (Montiel, 1970, p.61).

Robert Jones (1948) in his work “Ethnic Family Patterns,” like Humphrey, used the family cultural theory to define the gender roles found in the Chicano family. He described the Chicano family as having the same traditional cultural elements as the traditional Mexican family where the eldest male is perceived as the dominant authoritative figure.

Family authority is usually vested in the principal wage-earner or the person in control of the family finances. This is typically the father or the oldest male earner, who is consequently considered to be head of the family. The other members are subject to his control. (Jones, 1948, p. 451)

This early description of machismo inferred that patriarchal power subjugated the male as the authoritative and ruling figure over all females and younger males within the family structure. His authority as patriarch insured the division of labor according to gender and the prescription of appropriate behavior, especially for the Chicana.

The division of labor between the sexes is sharply defined. It is not considered proper for women to work outside the home or for men to engage in household activities. Unmarried men and women are not permitted to associate freely with each other, and the public conduct, dress, and private behavior of women are narrowly prescribed. The Mexican woman traditionally has no other concept of her role or function in life than as a housekeeper with children. (Jones, 1948, p. 451)

These models were then used to describe the role of the Chicano male as synonymous to the traditional Mexican male. Thus Machismo became defined as a culturally engendered male attribute equally defined in both the Mexican and Chicano family structure.

Oscar Lewis (1963) wrote the book *The Children of Sanchez*, which was based on his ethnography in Mexico of a poor rural family. Lewis explained machismo as part of a pathological syndrome that is caused by the "culture of poverty." He depicted machismo at the poverty level in terms of

a strong pre-disposition to authoritarianism(...) a belief in male superiority which reaches its crystallization in machismo or cult of masculinity, a corresponding martyr complex among women, and finally a high tolerance for psychological pathology of all sorts. (Lewis, 1962, p. xxvii)

Lewis contended, that machismo is not only found in the lower classes, but is also part of the middle class in Mexico. He stated that in the upper and middle class machismo tends to be emphasized more in the areas of sexual virility. "For example in the middle class, machismo is expressed in terms of sexual exploits and the Don Juan complex whereas in the lower class it is expressed in terms heroism and lack of physical fear" (Lewis, 1962, p. xxvii).

The research of this period not only was detrimental in defining the Mexican and Chicano family as a dysfunctional institution, but it served as both a foundation for the stereotypes of the Chicano male that are still portrayed today and it also provided justification for the need for assimilation and adherence to Anglo culture and ideology.

Machismo and the Psycho-Analytical Perspective

Maria Elvira Bermudez, (1955) was one of the first Mexican scholars to research the Mexican/Chicana family structure and family roles. Although Bermudez's research was based on what is often referred to as the traditional "Mexican family," her work served alongside Humphrey and Jones' work as an important basis for examining machismo. Bermudez's work is very representative of the research put out by psychologists who were considered the experts at the time of the ideology of family. Bermudez's work is quite powerful yet disturbing because it served as the basis for so much future research on the Chicano family, yet it was written from a very psychological perspective, rather than a social science perspective. Because Bermudez chose a psychological lens in which to examine the "Mexican family," the results she reported were highly shaped by her particular psychological training and perception. The pathological family theory she used basically conceptualized machismo in terms of the family patriarch, an over domineering, violent, alcoholic, womanizing individual who forces his family to succumb to this dysfunctional life style because he holds a position of power as economic provider and owner of the family.

El hombre en, efecto, valido quiza de las dadivas y de los riesgos que su mujer le ha costado, la considera como una cosa de propiedad a quien es preciso sacar el mayor partido posible. Por ello, le exige un trabajo interrumpido y una obediencia muda, y le niega la minima iniciativa. Por ello, tambien, le pega y la maltrata. (Bermudez, 1955, p. 35)

Bermudez depicted the Mexican Male head of household as a pathological machista, and his counterpart as a weak, suffering person, incapable of achievement without male support. The Mexicana is conceptualized as a victim of patriarchy in the low rural classes and as an incompetent individual who depended on the institution of patriarchy for her survival and position of privilege afforded to the middle and upper middle class Mexicanas. Her analysis of the Mexicana wife, daughter did not portray her as a full thinking human, but rather as a lesser human who owed all that she is to patriarchy, and without patriarchy she does not survive.

Las mujeres que en la actualidad gozan de fama merecida pertenecen en grande parte a la clase media alta, o francamente a la burguesia. Este fenomeno social significa quiza que la mujer Mexicana es incapaz aun de forjarse por si misma, sin ayuda del hombre, una situacion cultural relevante, si a la vez ha de atender a sus propias necesidades y alas de los suyos. Porque detras de cada mujer valiosa o afamada, se encuentran casi siempre: el padre que le dio una carrera, el marido que la ayuda y la estimula en la labor social; el hermano que obtiene para ella un puesto de importancia; o los amigos y companeros que la inician en las lides politicas y en los secretos del arte. (Bermudez, 1955, p. 64)

Bermudez is recognized for coining the phrase *hembrismo*, which she explains is the counterpart of *machismo*. *Hembrismo* is the exaggerated forms of the female gender role in response to the role of the macho in the traditional family structure. *Hembrismo* is basically described as the submission of the female, usually the wife to the macho authority figure. She is there to serve the needs of the males in the house, and is required

to accept her husband's infidelities, drunkenness, abuse, etc; regardless of the pain that it causes her. She is held to standards of the virgin mother, and thus suffers in silence, and is not viewed as a sexual human being, but as property of the patriarch.

Lo propio de la Mexicana comun escriba en la exagerada sumision al hombre que llega aun a aceptar como naturales la infidelidad y la servicia y que hace crisis en ocasionales malos tratos de los hijos y en la envidia rencorosa que hacia otras mujeres dirige; en el hecho de atenerse exclusivamente al hombre para subsistir; en su facil adhesion a todo lo que la suponga incapaz, con objeto de soslayar responsabilidades y labores dificiles; y en su apego a la queja y al llanto continuos, inmotivados y aparatosos... Llamo hembrismo a esa actitud porque, ademas de corresponder exactamente a la equivocada conducta del hombre, es una amplificacion artificial de las caracteristicas que comunmente han sido consideradas femeninas y que , a causa de que se limitan aun punto de vista estrictamente somatico, invaden terreno zoologicos: debilidad, actitud pasiva ante el macho, e inercia (Bermudez, 1955, p.93).

Bermudez's machismo/hembrismo dyad provided a framework for psychologists who responded to her work by further examining the machismo in terms of sex role binaries within the "traditional Mexican family."

Octavio Paz (1961), another Mexican social scientist, continued Bermudez's work on the pathological Chicano family. Paz's scholarship served as ground breaking work for Chicano/a scholars who were examining the dynamics of machismo within the Chicano and Mexican family. In his work *Labyrinth of Solitude*, Paz took a psychological

approach and, postulated that the family is based on the ideology of machismo. He examined machismo as a negative external reaction to internal feelings of inferiority that the Mexican and Chicano feel the oppression of colonization, and internal colonization for the Chicano. Octavio Paz offered the idea that the Mexican suffers an inferiority complex derived from the Spanish conquest, and external characteristics of exaggerated masculine traits are a reaction to this inferiority.

Octavio Paz attributed the Mexican's deep seated feelings of 'inferiority' to the spiritual rape and conquest of Mexico- a defeat that was so devastating that it proved to be not only a military conquest, but a spiritual and moral downfall (Mirande, 1995, p. 35).

Paz argued that the macho male demonstrates exaggerated forms of aggressiveness and virility in his interactions with other family members as a response to the inferiority he feels as a colonized subject and in order to impersonate the power of the Spanish patriarch that had subordinated him.

It is impossible not to notice the resemblance between the figure of the macho and the Spanish Conquistador. (Paz, 1961, p. 82)

The macho is the grand chingon. One word sums up aggressiveness, insensitivity, invulnerability and other attributes of the macho power. It is force without discipline of any notion of order: arbitrary power, the will without restraints and with a set course. (Paz, 1961, p. 81)

In contrast to the macho male, Paz gave an analysis of how the "ideal" woman is perceived to the Mexican and Chicano male. As Bermudez explained, the ideal woman is

passive, non sexual in her own desires, although she is lusted for sexually by the male.

She is the pillar of religious strength and the preserver of culture. She is portrayed by Paz as physically inferior to the male, but spiritually stronger, as she is the endurer of pain and suffering.

In a world made in man's image, woman is only a reflection of masculine will and desire. When passive, she becomes a goddess, a beloved one, a being who embodies the ancient, stable elements of the universe; the earth, motherhood, virginity. The Mexican considers women to be a dark, secret and passive being. He does not attribute evil instincts to her; he even pretends that she does not have any. (Paz, 1961, p. 36)

She is a symbol, like all women of stability and continuity of race. In addition to her cosmic significance she has an important social role, which is to see to it that law and order, piety and tenderness are predominant in everyday life. (Paz, 1961, p. 38)

Paz equated this image of women, as a form of respect that the Mexican male holds for the woman, but only in public spaces in order to complement his role of macho, male of honor and respect. To disrespect his wife publicly would lose him social honor and respect. Paz, in a simple question, alluded to the fact that culturally, the Mexican male does not perceive the female as a full human being, but a mere object.

Perhaps she would usually prefer to be treated with less respect (which anyway is granted to her only in public) and with greater freedom and truthfulness; that is, to

be treated as a human being rather than as a symbol or function. (Paz, 1961, p. 38)

Paz offered a dual or opposite view of the woman, which further contributed to the pathological viewpoint of the Mexican culture and family. According to Paz there is the good woman, and the bad woman (*la mujer mala*). The bad woman doesn't conform to the ideals of prudence and submissiveness that is the cultural preference according to Paz and Bermudez, rather she holds gender attributes that are reserved for men such as aggressiveness and sexual desire.

The 'bad woman' - is almost always accompanied by the idea of aggressive activity. She is not passive like the 'self denying mother, the 'waiting sweetheart' the hermetic idol: she comes and goes, she looks for men and then leaves them. The mala is hard impious and independent like the macho. In her own way she also transcends her physiological weakness and closes herself off from the world. (Paz, 1961, p. 38)

This analysis Paz has given us has served as a reinforcement of the stereotypes and biases introduced by Anglo social scientists, while serving as a basis for viewing the Chicano family as a pathological unit, in which both the male and female are culturally bound by psychological deviant gender roles which are then used to justify patriarchal inequalities that are found in family relations.

Unlike Paz (1961), Humphrey (1944) and Jones (1948) Samuel Ramos (1965) argued that the Mexican is not inferior, but he is made to feel inferior by trying to assimilate to the higher values of the dominant class.

The affirmation is not that the Mexican is inferior but rather that he feels inferior. This is quite different. It is certain individual cases, the sense of inferiority discloses real organic or psychic deficiencies for the majority of Mexicans it constitutes collective illusion which results from measuring a man against the very high scales of values corresponding to highly developed countries. (Ramos, 1969)

Ramos attributed this inferiority to the Spanish conquest of the Aztec Indians. The Spaniard represented power as they raped the native women. According to the conquest theory, a mind set of envy and power was created for the Aztec men as they saw their women being raped by the Spanish. The Aztec men saw the Spanish as possessing a power over the women that they did not have, and that the women were submissive and vulnerable to the Spanish. The theory proposed that the Aztec men wanted to emulate the Spanish, and have the same power to conquer women. Ramos argued that this lack of power that the Aztecs felt created an inferiority complex in the modern day Mexican. Ramos created the image of what he called the "pelado".

Ramos' pelado is embodied in two personalities-a real one and a fictitious one both of which are diametrically opposed. He possesses no bravery or strength only a deflated ego which drives him to conceal his inner sense of inferiority by striking out at a world he distrusts as his enemy. He does this in a quarrelsome manner with both verbal and physical phallic obsessions which to him mean power. (Ruiz, 1975, p. 41)

These overt attributes are equated with the ideology of machismo for the pelado.

The image of the pelado has been one which psychologists and sociologists have used to explain the social problems and perceived negative traits of machismo.

R. Diaz Guerrero (1967) a Mexican psychologist felt that Samuel Ramos was correct in explaining the Chicano Psyche when he said that the "Chicano mind suffers from a feeling of inferiority from his history of subjugation under the Spanish colonizers" (Diaz, 1967, p. 33). He was one of the first psychologists to use the cultural deficiency model to describe the Chicano mental state. He described the exaggerated masculine state, external machismo, as a compensation for the lack or failure in his own achievements.

In my opinion sexuality is of great importance for the Mexican because it is a kind of compensation for other things that he lacks... Perhaps one of the best signs of exaggeration of one need in compensation for its own failure to be satisfied is boasting or bragging of that need for satisfaction. (Diaz, 1967, p. 33)

He concluded in his study of the Mexican Psyche that the Mexican male, especially in the role of father, has "absolute supremacy" in his home. "The female, must prescribe to the role of the self sacrificing mother, yet she holds a much esteemed role in the family as mother" (Diaz, 1967, p.113). But since these roles are so restrictive and often unattainable because of social class obstacles, he concludes that they suffer from neurosis.

Evelyn P. Stevens (1965) built upon the cultural deficiency theory model for machismo and attempted to look at the relationship between the Mexican cultural attribute of virility and politics. In response to Octavio Paz (1961) and Samuel Ramos (1965) who defined the macho as a male who demonstrates exaggerated masculine

behaviors such as aggression, violence and virility in order to compensate for his cultural and social economic inferiority as a subjugated member in society. Stevens stated that the cult of virility is:

A cultural symbol; to be understood in the context of an action system, it must be translated into a way of orienting. Ultimately, all means are legitimate in the battle for personal control of people and things, even violence and death.

(Stevens, 1965, p. 849)

She theorized that the political system with strong leaders may serve as an influence on the cultural and social system which in turn creates an authoritative figure, the macho male in the household. Part of this influence is due to the social and structural constraints that prevent the Chicano male from participating fully in the economy, and upholding the cultural valued role of the male as provider. At the same time the male is socialized culturally to want to emulate the power that is held by the privileged male in the political system. Stevens' research was unique for this period of time in that she looks at power structures and tries to correlate them to the family value system. Although Stevens used class and structural inequality to explain gender roles, she reinforces the cultural deficiency model that was prevalent during the decade in which males were perceived as authoritative and females as weak and submissive due to cultural defects found in the Chicano community.

Arthur Rubel (1966) conducted an ethnography on a small border town in Texas between 1966-1969. His work serves as the first attempt to provide empirical evidence on the Chicano family life. Rubel's work took great care in identifying both the

immediate family and extended family roles found in the Chicano families he studied. He described a patriarchal structure in which father or eldest male is head of the home, and provider. He discussed how traditionally marriages were granted permission by parents on the approval that the potential son-in-law was proven to be a good provider for his family.

A man's home is his castle; the home is a sanctified locality, within which one's womenfolk are safe. At the head of the household is the father or, in the event of his death or absence, the oldest son. (Rubel, 1966, p. 67)

Rubel went into great detail about the actual role of the patriarch of the family. Because the father is the authoritative figure of the household, he maintains a strict dominant position among the other family members. Though Rubel explained that the authority the father holds is balanced out by a system of checks and balances with the other family members. The honor and respect that is afforded to him would be in jeopardy if he abused his power, or was unfair in his rules and judgments.

Rubel conceptualized the role of the female in the Chicano family as traditionally submissive and sacrificing.

A wife, and mother, is ideally, submissive, unworldly, and chaste. She is interested primarily in the welfare of her husband and her children, and secondarily in her own requirements. (Rubel, 1966, p. 63)

Rubel contended that both the mother and father role in the family are accorded respect by the children, but the father's respect is measured more in an authoritative form while the mother is respected for her sacrifices for the family.

The father must be respected because of his authoritative position at the head of the household, whereas the mother is respected because she minimizes her own necessities in order to better provide for those of her family. She devotes herself to her family and the consistent idealized portrait one receives of Mexican-American mothers is that of a suffering woman. (Rubel, 1966, p. 67)

Rubel explained in his ethnography that the Chicana's place in the family is limited to the domestic sphere and her interaction with people outside that domestic realm is very limited to other female members of the extended family. Consequently, the emotional needs of a woman in this society are funneled to a microscopic group of other women (Rubel, 1966, p. 79). The extended family which Rubel discussed is the concept of *el compadrazgo*. *El compadrazgo* is usually the Godparents chosen for religious events such as baptisms and confirmations. The *compadre* and *comadre* thus become respected members of the extended family and often a source of financial and moral support for the individual nuclear family. Rubel explained that the creation of the extended family is also seen as a mechanism for the male authoritative figure to protect his honor and respect as the patriarch of the family in terms of his wife's virtue. According to one of Rubel's informants, the patriarch in the Chicano family would make a close male friend a *compadre* if the potential was present that the male friend would dishonor the patriarch by trying to sleep with his wife.

Sometimes when someone is afraid you are going sleep with his wife, he'll make you his *compadre*... *Compadrazgo* lends itself so well to the containment of conflict because Chicanos expect that those related will treat one another with

respect and deference. (Rubel, 1966, p. 80)

Rubel attempted to conceptualize the Chicano family as a culturally authoritative unit which is based on a machismo ideology. Rubel's ethnography later came under critique by Romano because as an outsider, Rubel misinterpreted a lot of the data collected, and was unable to decipher when the informants were being honest with him or feeding him information that they thought he wanted to hear. Being an outsider, Rubel was unable to determine which of his data was valid and which was a fallacy, because he only had previous scholarship which was based on the cultural deficiency model to guide his own research.

Americo Paredes (1967) argued that the pathological perspective of the Mexican macho in fact began during the westward expansion period by the Anglo Americans. Paredes examined American literature and created a theory that in actuality it was the American Anglo who felt inferior to the mother country in Europe. The American macho was the frontiersman, who in literature was depicted as physically rugged and brass, and usually carried a rifle and knife. These characteristics represented overt qualities which were equated with strength and power to compensate for the economic, social power that the American felt that he lacked and that Europe possessed. As America expanded west and obtained more land, wealth and power, the Anglo shed his machismo, which was only in place to compensate for what was lacking, and the Mexican cowboy took on this characteristic. Paredes argued that the Mexican cowboy developed an inferiority complex in relation to the new Anglo elite of the time, and the literature of the time reflected the change in power. Literature thus portrayed the Anglo as superior, and a

hero, and the Mexican cowboy as a coward or villain. Such portrayals along with racism, classism and economic hierarchy created an inferiority complex for the Mexican. The Mexican thus compensated for society's stereotype of him by taking on the external traits of exaggerated virility, strength, aggressiveness, and sexual conquest which is often associated with the term macho. The concept of inferiority placed on one by the dominant class is important to understand as we try to unpack the ideology of machismo. Although Paredes' work barely unpacked the surface of machismo, as a Chicano, his work was revolutionary because it began to look outside of the perceived dysfunctional family unit and examined the principle underpinnings of the introduction to capitalism that are linked to the manifestation of machismo not only in the private sphere but in the public sphere.

Fernando Penalosa (1968) took a cultural perspective and surveyed literature done by social scientists on the Mexican Family vs. the Chicano family. This work served as a framework for future social scientists in examining machismo and the Chicano family because it attempted to view the Chicano family in a different and more positive view than the Mexican family. As previous social scientists have stated in earlier studies, Penalosa applied the cultural deficiency model to the theory of machismo within the Chicano family. "The behavior related to Machismo has been the result of deprivation of a constant and secure masculine identification" (Penalosa, 1968, p. 684). Penalosa suggested that due to acculturation, the Mexican American family is viewed differently and more positively than the traditional Mexican family, even though both structures share patriarchal dominance which has been translated into machismo. Penalosa

explained that the traditional Mexican family holds machismo as the nucleus of the family unit which is culturally prescribed. He stated that, "male-female relations are based on strongly held beliefs in the superiority (biological, intellectual, and social) of the male. The female is clearly valued less, despite the various circumstances in which she is placed on a pedestal by males" (Penalosa, 1968, p. 683). Penalosa described machismo as the

Ambivalence of the men toward women takes another form of their division of women into 'good' and 'bad'. Good women are the mothers, wives, daughters and sisters who are supposed to be disinterested in sex, and 'bad' women are those less respectable women who one can take mistresses or otherwise enjoy sexually.

One's own mother, not infrequently equated with the Virgin Mary, is supposedly a sexless creature, and by extension so is the wife. ... Woman's virtue is glorified at the same time that prostitution is legalized by men and widely patronized by them . (Penalosa, 1968, p. 684)

Penalosa used the patriarchal scope to continue to define machismo in terms of gender relations within the family. He explained that part of the culture of machismo dehumanizes the female by viewing her as mere property.

The man is said to openly or covertly value the woman primarily as merchandise, rather than as a person because he takes into consideration what she has cost him financially and in other ways. (Penalosa, 1968, p. 683)

He referred to both monetary value, such as the money he may pay for a daughter's dowry or the money he would pay to a prostitute, and intrinsic value such as the value of

his daughter or wife's virtue. Penalosa credited Bermudez for coining the counterpart to machismo, "hembrismo."

Hembrismo is considered to be an amplification of the characteristics originally considered feminine, that is weakness, passive attitude toward the male and inertia (...) The role complimentary to that of the macho or male of course that of the hembra or female. These reciprocal roles in that the cultural pattern calls for the motives and explanations of one role to be matched by the motives and explanations of the other, and the behavior of one role calls for the corresponding behavior in the other. (Penalosa, 1967, p. 684)

Penalosa basically concluded that machismo is culturally inherent in all Mexican families, including Mexican American families. He concluded that machismo is present in all economic classes, though examples of exaggerated behavior such as aggression or violence may be less overt in the upper classes. He concluded that the reason that social scientists have differentiated between the Mexican family and Mexican American family is due to the theory that assimilation into the dominant culture changes the cultural structure of the family, thus forcing the male/female roles to emulate that of the Anglo culture which is perceived to be less patriarchal and more egalitarian.

Like Penalosa, Tharp, Meadow, Lennhoff, Stratterfield (1968) examined machismo within the Mexican family structure in terms of acculturation and the cultural deficiency model. As in Penalosa's scholarship they studied the roles of the male and female within the family structure. They referred to the traditional Mexican culture as "Mexican folk

culture” which denotes that the culture is “backward” or deficient. According to the study,

The Mexican folk culture includes a rigid division of labor with responsibility for various tasks being delegated in role...Masculine dominance is central to the family the wife is expected to respect, obey, and serve her husband without question. (Tharp, Meadow, Lennhoff, Stratterfield, 1968, p. 405)

In this same analysis, the cult of virginity has an equal part in the cultural make up of the Mexican folk culture. “Although emphasis is placed on premarital chastity and marital fidelity for the woman, satisfactory sexual relations are not considered essential” (Tharp, Meadow, Lennhoff, Stratterfield, 1968, p. 405). The study concluded by stating that acculturation into U.S culture brings more egalitarianism between the gender roles. The study concluded that acculturation is far less in the lower economic classes, and that the wives are more apt to acculturate than the males.

Our view is that the husband changes less rapidly than the wife. He completes few grades in school; he clings to the macho pattern of drinking, extra marital affairs, extra familial orientation etc. (Tharp, Meadow, Lennhoff, Stratterfield, 1968, p. 406)

The study failed to make the connection that the reluctance to acculturate by the male is not one of cultural deficiency, but one of power. The study failed to examine machismo as a gender issue rather than a cultural issue. The reluctance to acculturate by the Mexican male was not due to cultural deficiency but rather it was an attempt to hold

on to power which machismo afforded him and which was denied to him in mainstream dominant culture.

Swartzbough (1969), an American ethnographer, did a study on the Mexican peasant class in Oaxaca, Mexico. This study serves as an important link between the external colonial theory of machismo, which portrays the macho as a physically brave, womanizing aggressive male and the romanticized image of the macho which portrays machismo as a positive code of ethics that include honor, respect, responsibility, family honor, and pride. Swartzbough's study went beyond the colonial theory, and examined class and economic relations in terms of defining machismo. The study examined a town divided into a socio-economic hierarchy which had the peasants at the bottom, and the rich, and priests at the top. The Swartzbough study suggested that patriarchal power is measured by economic power. In this particular society, the power is maintained in the upper classes and in response to this, the peasants have internal capital in a form of machismo. In the peasant culture, machismo is respect and honor that a man receives from his community. It is something money can not buy and the "ricos" can not possess because it requires the male to earn the respect and admiration from his community. "Male hostility" or aggressive behavior is socially acceptable among the peasants in order for the man to maintain control and discipline within the family. A man can not earn the respect of his community if he can not maintain honor and respect in his home. Swartzbough contrasted this viewpoint with the upper-class, who views machismo as vulgarity. For the peasant, machismo is a value system which incorporates a code of honor with external features of aggression and strength to reverse the hierarchy of power,

while eliminating the inferiority complex of Ramos' pelado. This study is important as we not only examine machismo in terms of class values, but it also serves as a lens to some of the earlier thoughts and images of machismo, which have contributed to many of the Chicano male stereotypes that exist today. Swartzbough offered the theory that machismo is a social value which is used to compensate for social and economic inequalities created by those who are in positions of power. This theory, like the external theory, addresses the Mexican in relation to class and economics, but in order to answer the question if machismo changes in the U.S, scholars need to look at the variables of race, and gender, which the previous studies have failed to do.

Machismo-Challenges to the Myth

Montiel's (1970) study was a revolutionary piece that was the first to challenge the previous decade of research on the Chicano family. Montiel refuted the cultural deficiency model used to explain the dynamics of the Chicano family, and the Chicano male.

The theories and concepts that have guided Mexican family studies have consistently lacked both methodological sophistication as well as empirical verification. Specifically, they have relied almost totally upon a psychoanalytic mode in which there is an uncritical use of concepts like machismo. (Montiel, 1970, p. 60)

Montiel critiques Bermudez' cultural deficiency model as problematic and based on cultural perspectives that are not proven by empirical evidence.

Bermudez' basic argument is that the false concepts Mexicans have regarding

masculinity and femininity impede Mexican males from being 'candid humans' and females from being 'dignified and independent'. Thus she declares that the characteristics of self denial and self inflicted suffering are mere products of ineptitude and nothing else among Mexican women. From this premise Bermudez builds a series of instances in which the Mexican is 'deficient', ranging from delinquency to underdeveloped industrialization. (Montiel, 1970, p. 60)

Montiel concluded that machismo is a "masculinity cult" and is used loosely to describe the Mexican family from a cultural perspective without empirical evidence or operationalized set of terms. He found the psychoanalysis approach by scholars like Bermudez, and Humphrey inappropriate and problematic. It was this criticism concerning the lack of methodology and the conceptualization of the Chicano family as culturally deficient and pathological that inspired Chicano/a scholars to address the concept of machismo in terms of its role in the Chicano family. Like Penalosa, Montiel centers on the negative and non-empirical conceptualization of forms masculinity within the family structure as problematic and not the gender inequalities that are exhibited between the gender roles. Montiel's work became a pivotal point for a lot of the literature now conducted by Chicano scholars. Montiel's scholarship not only attempted to denounce the cultural deficiency model, but it also reflected the emergence of the Chicano community claiming an identity and voice distinct from that of the Mexican immigrant community. This scholarship became a precursor to scholarship that emerged in the next decade which addresses the ideology of machismo as the quest to define and claim an identity in the United States during the civil right's movement.

Machismo and the Response to Internal Colonialism

Armando Rendon, (1971) felt that the ideology of machismo was being used by the Anglo social scientists to further oppress the Chicano male by reinforcing stereotypes of a pathological minority. Based on nationalism and Chicano pride, Rendon argued in his book *Chicano Manifesto* that machismo is both an important cultural trait and a symbol of Chicano identity which rejects the oppression by the Anglo dominant culture. Rendon argued that this "Macho Manifesto" is not only about manhood within Anglo Society, but rather it was "nationhood", which includes la Chicana.

The society that dominates life in the United States is far removed from that of the Chicano and the Mexican American life style. The essence of machismo, of being macho, is as much a symbolic principle of the Chicano revolt as it is a guideline for conduct for family life, male-female relationships, and personal self-esteem. To be macho in fact, is an underlying drive of the gathering of identification of Mexican Americans which goes beyond the recognition of common troubles. The Chicano revolt is a manifestation of Mexican Americans exerting their manhood and womanhood against the Anglo society. Macho, in other words, can no longer relate merely to manhood but must relate to nationhood as well. (Rendon, 1971, p. 95)

Rendon took the perspective that machismo was not a gendered ideology but a political and cultural ideology that was necessary to both preserve "Chicano family values" which were being threatened under the Anglo women's movement, and to achieve de-colonization by dominant society. The way that Rendon conceptualized the Chicano family in terms of the ideology of machismo, provoked a lot of student

scholarship by Chicanas who challenged the notion that machismo was a positive Chicano family value and cultural trait, and also by Chicanas who, although they agreed that there was inequality in the family, bought into the rhetoric that machismo was an attribute to be tolerated in the name of nationhood and revolution.

Unlike Rendon, Nathan Murillo (1971) took issue with the conceptualization of the Mexican American family as the romanticized depiction of the macho head of the household. He argued that the family is a stable unit which provides the members with security and emotional support. Rather than the conceptualization that the family was an authoritative institution, he conceptualized it as more of a cooperative institution which puts the needs of the family as a whole first followed by the needs of the individual. In response to machismo, Murillo stated that machismo is very much part of the Mexican American culture and family, but it is used as a tool of maintaining honor and respect of the family unit. Murillo argued that the perceived machismo in the family does not equate to authoritative power, abuse and violence, but rather it is synonymous with honor, integrity, and respect. "An important part of machismo...is that using his authority with the family in a just and fair manner" (Murillo, 1971, p. 103). Although, he attempted to move away from the traditional perspectives of machismo in terms of power and authority, he himself still took a very romanticized perspective in his analysis. Like his predecessors, he conceptualized the Chicano family within the framework of male prescribed gender roles, rather than examining the multiple gender and social roles that compose the family structure. We see the depiction of machismo being composed by patriarchal models of culture and family standards which compel the scholars to protect

the image of the Chicano male because it is associated with the social behaviors such as family allegiance.

Berenice Rincon, (1971) discussed the traditional role of the patriarchal male and the submissive female in the Chicano family household. She portrayed the male as an authoritative patriarch while the female holds a subordinate role to the male.

The father wields almost unlimited power within the home. His word is usually law and he is obeyed unquestionably by his wife and children, especially the girls. Traditionally the role of the Mexican woman is one of subordination. (Rincon, 1971, p. 15)

Rincon continued her analysis of the traditional gender roles, which resemble greatly the roles, described by Octavio Paz. She discussed how the Mexican culture views the woman's role in society through the binary that Paz introduced of the "good woman vs. the bad woman."

The image of the mala mujer-the bad woman is almost accompanied by the idea of aggressive activity. She is not passive like the self-denying mother, the waiting sweetheart, the hermetic idol. His extreme mobility through a mechanism similar to that described above, renders her invulnerable. Activity immodesty unites to petrify the soul. The mala is hard and impious and independent of the macho. (Rincon, 1971, p. 16)

Rincon discussed the Anglo woman as representing the image of the bad woman who is sexually permissive and economically ambitious which conflicts, with the traditional submissive role of the Chicana as the good woman. She discussed how the concept of

acculturation into American culture forces women to confront this dichotomy of her gender roles, not only within the Chicano community but in the U.S which holds often conflicting roles. "Depending where she is in the acculturation scale, she is bound to feel or be made to feel 'bad, enslaved, wild, submissive, chattel, toy or unintelligent" (Rincon, 1971, p. 16).

Rincon argued against the need to confront machismo as a negative attribute as Chicanas acculturate. This particular piece of scholarship is exemplary of young Chicanas who attempted to conceptualize their role within the family and the U.S social hierarchy. Rincon, viewed acculturation as an accepted process that Chicanos/as experience as a colonized minority. She discussed how acculturation to the American culture by Mexicanos, caused women to confront the dichotomy of their gender role, not only within the Mexican American community but in the American community which often held conflicting ideals.

Through her article Rincon asked for a reanalysis of machismo and family values within the context of acculturation into American mainstream culture. In doing so, she outlined the traditional Chicano family based on patriarchal ideals of machismo and proposed an acculturated version of the same values, but re-conceptualized to reflect what she believed at the time to be positive attributes of the Anglo culture. "In the patriarchal system the dependents are protected to a certain degree from the stress and strain of decision making" (Rincon, 1971, p. 17). Though, on the other hand she contended "in any system that advocates absolute power and authority of one person or

group over another is distasteful at times to the subordinate group and the Chicana has to contend with this situation in that institution called machismo" (Rincon, 1971, p. 17).

She continued her analysis by offering an acculturated form of the Chicano family which incorporates the positive aspects from both the Chicano and Anglo dominant culture. Thus the absolute authority, male machismo in the traditional Mexican family is transformed and re-defined as forms of bravery, and loyalty to the family. The Chicana's subordination to the family, *hembrismo*, was re-defined by Rincon as a leadership position within the domestic sphere. Although many of these "revised" roles still hold traditional views of machismo, such as women being confined to the domestic sphere, they have been re-conceptualized into Anglo accepted attributes that are not overtly identifiable as patriarchy or machismo. Yet, concepts of bravery, family loyalty, and honor hold strong covert patriarchal attributes which often materialize in machismo.

Rincon's scholarship is an example of the exploration that Chicana scholars and students went through trying to put into perspective conflicting concepts of their family life that have been conceived as pathological by the mainstream, yet are seen as positive family values by the Chicano leaders in the movement. At the same time, the Chicana is faced with the reality that the values being fought for by their own community, are oppressive to the women. The accommodation model of re-defining and re-conceptualizing the traditional roles of the Chicano family that historically have been oppressive to women, yet protecting the Chicano family from forced assimilation into dominant culture had become a common focus of many young scholars during the Chicano movement. Many of the young Chicana scholars had to address the issue of

gender oppression within the Chicano community while fighting the oppressions of race and class that affected the community as a whole.

Enriqueta Longuaex Vasquez (1971) wrote an essay published in "Las Hijas de Cuauhtemoc" that discussed the concept of machismo in terms of a response to structural inequalities that Chicanos/as experience due to being subjects of internal colonialism. Vasquez discussed how women are both dependent on men because of the patriarchal economic system which excludes women, and at the same time they are obligated to support the concept of the male as provider and head of the family because of the structural oppressions he must fight against in Anglo society. She stated, "how the Chicana woman reacts depends totally on how the macho Chicano is treated when he goes outside into mainstream society"(Vasquez, 1971). She portrayed the role of the Chicana within the family structure as a dependent sufrida, who relies on the male for her role within the family and as an individual person outside the home. She attributed the oppressive role of the Chicana within the home, not to the patriarch and machismo, but to the dominant society which oppresses the Chicano patriarch, and thus he is forced to vent his anger as an oppressed male on his family.

A woman has no way of expressing herself and of realizing herself as a full human has nothing else to turn but the owning of material things. Dependent on her husband and family... Then you will find the Chicana whose husband was not able to fare so very well in society and perhaps has had to face defeat... Quite often the man will not fight the real source of his problems, be it discrimination or

whatever, but will instead come home and take it out on the family. (Vasquez, 1971)

She continued to explain that the Chicana then becomes a victim of external manifestations of machismo such as violence, dominance and abuse, which is instigated by external social factors that first oppress the male head of the household. She thus equated machismo with the violence and inferiority due to unfilled obligations of masculinity. Though what is different from her analysis and that of Ramos or Paz, is that she did not blame the Chicano for this inferiority, but rather the structural issues of class and race that oppress the Chicano. Vasquez's scholarship represents both the struggle the Chicana women were facing in terms of addressing structural issues that were oppressing Chicanos/as in terms of race and class, but as a woman she also began to address the issues that were oppressing women from within her own community, by Chicano males. What is particularly important about this piece, is she began to examine how the structural oppressions are being internalized by the Chicano male and brought into the private sphere of the family.

Anita Espinoza-Larsen (1972) wrote an essay entitled "Machismo Another View" which attempted to challenge the cultural deficiency model of the Chicano family, by re-defining the element that was often linked to the dysfunctional family model, machismo. Espinoza is representative of scholars and critics who grew up during the Chicano movement and had to deal with the issues of nationalism vs. the White Women's movement that was occurring at the same time the Chicano movement was reclaiming their right to have their culture validated in the U.S. During this period in civil rights

history, Chicano/a groups recognized themselves as an internal colony in the U.S and denounced the racism and classism that they experienced as a people. Along with this mentality, Espinoza argued that in fact machismo was not the culprit for the oppression of women, but rather racism and classism were. She argued that the “machos” too suffer the same oppressions in society. Her analysis was representative of the conceptualization used at the time that did not consider the role of gender when discussing the oppression of minority women. All discourse was based on the race and class aspect of the internal colonial experience, addressing gender meant that the Chicana would have to view her fellow Chicano as part of the problem, which did not adhere to the ideology of nationalism and brotherhood.

The concentration that, for Chicanas, the freedom from machismo is necessary or even pertinent leaves fear, doubts and even incredulity in the minds of many of us. If Chicanas are suppressed and indeed we are, it is the system and not machismo in our culture that is the culprit. The same system holds our machos back. (Espinoza, 1972, p. 59)

Espinoza continued her essay by discussing the pro's and con's of changing traditional gender roles within the family. In terms of con's she argued that the possibility of there being more women in the penal institution because women would be holding roles in the public sphere where they would encounter the same racism and injustice as the men. She also argued that the negatives would include a break down in the family because the woman holds the traditional qualities of tenderness, tolerance, compassion, patience that are needed to maintain a positive home life. She also discussed the possibility of a

greater number of divorces and women suffering illness, and shorter life spans like men if they become equal in the workforce. The only positive attributes she contributed to the liberation of the Chicana were the access to changes in government and education programs, and less war.

Machismo is an integral part of our culture; it is apparent in our language, our music, our literature and indeed, our day to day living. It is entirely possible to de-emphasize some negative aspects of machismo without ripping it out of our lives, pero ahorita no... Before Chicanas can attain our civil rights in any area of concern we must first reach the plateau as a people, as a group, both sexes. A woman who places her interests as a female above the needs and interest of her group will affect the grossest selfishness imaginable to still a growing group. The adhering quality of Chicanos to each other is the element of kindness, la bondad... from this comes our culture in all aspects including machismo.

(Espinoza, 1972, p. 59)

Espinoza's scholarship reflected the emerging struggle that women of color were facing in the 70's. Women of color were now confronted with two conflicting ideologies, that of nationalism, and White feminism. By addressing the issues of gender based oppression, women of color would have to acknowledge the oppressor as not only the white man, but patriarchy in general. As Espinoza and lots of young Chicanas found themselves having to choose between Chicano national ideology that condoned the oppression of women through machismo and the feminist ideology that went against the cultural definition of machismo during the current times.

Sosa Riddell (1974) argued that machismo as stated by Montiel is a myth which is exploited by the dominant culture to continue the oppression of the Chicano male. "Chicanos are induced to define and describe their very conditions imposed upon them by their colonizers or neo-colonizers" (Sosa Riddell, 1974, p. 360). She argued that machismo is a myth which was created by the colonizers to cause their subjects to over compensate to prove their self worth in a colonized society.

Machismo is a myth propagated by subjugators and colonizers who take pleasure in watching their subjects strike out vainly against them in order to prove themselves still capable of action. (Sosa Riddell, 1974, p. 360)

By spreading the myth of the authoritative and domineering macho she argued that the dominant society continues the oppression of the Chicana because the myth of machismo dictates that the role of the woman is to be sentenced to the home.

Rosalie Flores (1975) discussed machismo in terms of intrinsic traits, such as pride, honor, respect, valor, dignity, but tainted with the internal colonial syndrome of inferiority, which scholars from Paz onward have discussed as being caused by racism and class oppression. "Machismo is an elusive Mexican value, inbred and fostered by parental anxiety for the males in the family to show manliness, virility, honor, and courage" (Flores, 1975, p. 55). Flores, blamed the root cause of machismo on the family value system of the Mexican family, in which males are socialized to hold these traits as a defense mechanism. She argued that these family values paired with an oppressive "system" equates to negative machista traits, which in turn oppress the Chicana.

By denying Chicanos jobs, dignity and a sense of worth, it often manifests into aggressiveness and male 'watchfulness' over this female counterpart. It is this that is resented by the modern Chicana. (Flores, 1975, p. 55)

She discussed how this equated to women in the house having to wait on the males, in the home, fathers, brothers, husbands. She also stated that in many homes traditional values concerning courtship are instilled, requiring chaperones by the males, who in turn prevent her from talking with certain individuals. In other homes dating is not allowed. She continued to discuss the idea that women who speak against such treatment or show strong emotions, are somehow crossing the gender line and treading on masculine territory. "If a female shows aggression or she has definite opinions, she is somehow stepping into the male realm of masculinity." Flores equated this "protection" and restriction of women, to then in turn socialize women into traditional subservient roles in the family. "It breeds generations of timid, submissive women that harbor un-vented resentments" (Flores, 1975, p. 55). Towards the end of her essay, Flores made two important statements. First, she said that machismo is not viewed equally by Mexican women and Chicana women. "The new Chicana is into the people thing herself, she does not necessarily admire machismo, nor does she see it in the same light as her sister in Mexico" (Flores, 1975, p. 56). By stating this she was inferring that the Mexican women view machismo as a positive attribute while some Chicana women view it as oppressive. Flores also stated "machismo does not need to be a problem to her, it only needs a different interpretation"(Flores, 1975, p. 56). Again, like many of the youth with strong nationalist ties, for Flores, there was a definite push in recognizing machismo as a

positive cultural value, and reinterpreting the negative into the positive. Her statement that a reinterpretation is needed was definitely heeded by Alfredo Mirande who wrote through the decades reinterpreting the concept of machismo.

Juliette Silvia Ruiz (1975) elaborated on the concept of machismo as an external response to colonization as defined by Paredes (1967) and defined machismo as a cultural response to socio-economic oppression while being internally colonized.

Macho as a cultural response may be viewed as enabling that individual to perceive himself as being a man among men, measured by the yardstick of his respective sub-cultural systems of the socio-economically depressed Chicano, the internalization of macho serves as a leveling mechanism, a devise which enables the Chicano to perceive himself as being equal to or better than those individuals who have reaped the positive financial rewards from his subjugation...Thus internalized macho acts as a buffer between the male Chicano and the anxiety producing host socio-cultural system. (Ruiz, 1975, p. 9)

This early literature is important in beginning to understand the complexity of machismo. The early studies of machismo view the ideology as a response to inferiority created by the dominant culture. It is through this examination that we can see how the stereotypes of the Mexican macho were created, and the psychology behind these overt displays of masculinity. It is important to address the feelings among many Chicano scholars that felt that this depiction of machismo has been incorrectly used and interpreted as it is used to explain all the social problems that the Chicano family suffers from.

Anna Nieto Gomes (1976) attributed machismo as a result of an oppressive capitalist society. She stated,

Sexism is part of the capitalist ideology which advocates male supremacist values. These values define the nature of women and men in respect to being superior or inferior. Men are defined as naturally stronger, logical and able to economically provide for others. Women are defined as naturally dependent, childlike, and therefore always in need of authority. (Nieto Gomes, 1976, p. 97)

Nieto blamed capitalism rather than culture for causing machismo in men, and for causing men to feel inferior, and thus having to over compensate to fit into the image of being strong and a provider.

Colonized men of color are considered inferior as women since colonized men do not have the power or authority to rule, provide economically and protect the family. Thus racism and sexism considers males as either effeminate or as macho overcompensating because of his powerless position in society. (Nieto, Gomes, 1976, p. 98)

Baca Zinn (1975) argued that the interpretation that machismo is a compensation for inferiority is basically blaming the victim for his own oppression in terms of an internal colonial model.

This interpretation (whether one locates the cause of oppression in the social structure or in psychological characteristics of the oppressed) attributes machismo and its corresponding pattern of female submissiveness to pathological characteristics of the oppressed. In effect this interpretation finds Chicanos

themselves responsible for their own subordination due to their dysfunctional cultural responses. (Zinn, 1975, p. 19)

Zinn argued that social scientists need to allow Chicanos to define machismo for themselves, and in doing so one may find positive attributes to this "cult," Zinn explained that within the Chicano movement there has been conflicting view points of machismo by both males and females. Women viewed machismo as a form of male dominance which deters them from full participation in the movement, while men viewed it as part of the cultural nationalism that is needed to fight the oppression by the dominant culture.

Zinn offered the idea that,

It is possible that aggressive behavior of Chicano males has been both an affirmation of Mexican cultural identity and expression of their conscious rejection of the dominant society's definition of Mexicans as passive, lazy and indifferent. (Zinn, 1975, p. 20)

Alfredo Mirande (1977) re-analyzed the ideology of machismo by looking at it through an internal colonial model. He took the internal colonialism model and argued that because Chicanos are victims of internal colonialism, the macho is fighting to keep his culture alive.

The macho as titular head of the family is usually seen as actively combating acculturation and assimilation, but the woman resists equally via her own traditional role. As the center of the family and the mainstay of the culture and its traditions, the Chicana has helped to counter the encroachment of colonialism. (Mirande, 1977, p. 755)

He argued that the idea of egalitarianism was an Anglo ideology brought by the Anglo immigrants and the Chicano/Mexicanos were native to the southwest, and the strict authoritarian family was part of the culture. Because the authoritative patriarch does not fit into the Anglo ideology it has been conceived as a cultural deficiency, especially since it is not an easily acculturated attribute.

Chicanos have actively opposed the insidious oppressive conditions of internal colonialism and the family has been a critical force in the oppression. In an environment where Chicano institutions have been rendered subordinate and dependent, the family has been the only institution to escape colonial intrusion. (Mirande, 1977, p. 755)

In 1979, Mirande reviewed all earlier studies on the Chicano family. He described earlier scholars as making generalizations about male dominance and female submissiveness based on stereotypes and labeling them cultural deficiencies. Mirande, built off of Baca Zinn's (1973) work on the Chicana and the domestic sphere.

Inflexible Chicano patriarchy and the concept of the submissive Chicana have been disputed by Chicano's re-examination of their own history. There is a strain in the Chicano movement literature which accepts the notion of the submissive Chicana and attributes her passivity to machismo....There is a more prominent strain which refutes simplistic generalizations of female passivity and presents Chicanas in a new light. (Baca Zinn, 1973, p. 24)

Mirande concluded that the Chicano family is basically egalitarian and that the male is not the dominant patriarch of the family that drinks and comes and goes as he pleases, while his wife stays at home and suffers in silence. He stated,

The essence of machismo, according to this pathological model, is thus irresponsibility. The Hedonistic, sex starved, irresponsible macho pales in comparison to his counter part-the thrifty , thoughtful, virtuous and responsible Anglo American paternal ideal. (Mirande, 1977, p. 755)

He noted that although the male is not this rigorous patriarch, he still holds a position of power or as he referred to it honor and respect, as being head of the household. He said if a woman doesn't publicly denounce her husband, it is due to a form of respect for her husband's position in the community, but it doesn't mean she is without power in the relationship.

A woman may defer to her husband in public or express reluctance in engaging strangers without first consulting him, but this does not mean she is powerless or weak. In familial matters her influence is, in fact as great if not greater than her husband's. (Mirande, 1979, p. 478)

He felt that negative portrayals of Chicanos such as big families were not due to the fact that they were demonstrating virility as Diaz stated, but rather they were victims of poverty within a capitalistic society.

Ramirez (1979), like Mirande, attempted to redefine machismo as not a negative cultural trait which is only inherent in Chicano males but a patriarchal trait found cross-culturally. He argued that only the negative aspects of male chauvinism are labeled as

machismo and are conceptualized as a cultural phenomenon of Chicano males. He argued that male Chauvinism is found cross-culturally and that it is wrong attribute it as a cultural trait of a single culture. He argued that machismo must be reconceptualized to become a positive cultural marker. "Machismo's new definition translates into such positive cultural characteristics as respect, honesty, loyalty, fairness, responsibility and trustworthiness" (Ramirez, 1979, p.62). He continued to explain that to be a macho is to be a good provider for the family and to hold a high enough self esteem to be able to admit when one is wrong.

Baca Zinn (1980) wrote in "Chicano Men and Masculinity" that there exists the need to examine empirical evidence about machismo and debunk or challenge the concept that machismo is not a cultural trait but rather one with structural influences.

The generalization that culture is a major determinant of gender is widely accepted in the social sciences. In the common portrayal of Chicanos, exaggerated male behavior is assumed to stem from inadequate masculine identity. (Zinn, 1980, p. 33)

She refuted this generalization by saying that previous studies had shown that male dominance is a universal trait, thus if this is to be true, machismo can not be defined in cultural terms. "If male dominance is universal, then it cannot be reduced to the culture of a particular category of people" (Zinn, 1980, p.31). Baca Zinn reviewed the work from previous years, and stated that although the works attempted to refute machismo, the views are not complete and one dimensional in their examinations. "In their eagerness to dispute machismo and the negative characteristics associated with the trait,

critics have tended to neglect the phenomenon of male dominance at societal, institutional, and interpersonal levels" (Zinn, 1980, p. 33). Baca Zinn examined literature on structural elements of society, and states that what possibly can be occurring is the fact that Chicano men are experiencing oppression, and obstacles that allow them to exercise their authority as males. This male authority becomes synthesized into machismo. She argued that therefore machismo is found in the home because it is the only place that Chicano men can hold authority and respect that is denied to them in the public sphere.

Perhaps manhood takes greater importance for those who do not have access to socially valued roles. Being male is one way to acquire status when other roles are systematically denied by the workings of society. This suggests that an emphasis on masculinity is not due to a collective internalized inferiority, rooted in a sub-cultural orientation. (Zinn, 1980, p. 39)

She concluded by saying,

If this is the case, it is reasonable to suggest that the father's authority is strongly upheld because of family solidarity is important in a society that excludes and subordinates Chicanos. The tenacity for patriarchy may be more than a holdover from past tradition.. It may also represent contemporary cultural adaptation to the minority condition of structural discrimination. (Zinn, 1980, p. 40)

Zinn's work was very important because it reflected the change in the research from viewing machismo, as a cultural phenomenon both negative and positive, and began to theorize about machismo being part of a bigger more universal ideology, patriarchy. The

introduction to the theory that machismo is more intricate than a cultural trait, and belongs to an ideology that is defined by gender traits rather than cultural ones is very important in the research on machismo. Zinn started addressing the underpinnings of machismo as being a way to compensate for the lack of access to structural positions that allow a man to hold authority. Yet Zinn did not develop her theory past universal patriarchy and failed to unpack the concept of authority as being access to power and control which is equated with masculinity.

Machismo as a Revisionist Model

Alfredo Mirande, (1981) attempted to redefine machismo under a synthesis of Rendon's internal colonial model and the previous models presented in the 60's and 70's. By 1981, Mirande argued that Chicanos need a redefinition of machismo, which more adequately represents the Chicano culture. "If colonized people are to be de-colonized it becomes imperative that they take an active part in de-mythicizing their experiences and re-defining themselves and their culture" (Mirande, 1981, p. 27). Mirande argued that Chicanos are a colonized people, who have internalized the negative stereotypes that portray machismo as a pathological cultural trait which portrays the Chicano male as a violent, insecure, controlling patriarch. Mirande argued that what is more dangerous than the dominant culture's portrayal of machismo, is the Chicano's own internal acceptance of this portrayal as a positive attribute. Mirande explained that in fact the "insider" actually becomes the colonizer in his/her own attempt to become free from oppression. This example is seen in the works of Sosa Riddell, (1976), and Mirande (1971) who synthesize the negative aspects of machismo as a form of cultural resistance against

Anglo dominant society. Mirande argued that in reality, by internalizing machismo as a form of resistance, in fact further oppresses both males and females by their own internal forces.

When Chicanos internalize and espouse negative and stultifying views of machismo, the mobilization of bias has come full circle as negative caricatures of Chicanos give way to positive ones. What greater testimony could be given for the veracity of externally induced stereotypes than to have them internalized and articulated as positive cultural attributes by the group in question. (Mirande, 1981, p. 27)

Mirande argued that in fact Machismo is a dual concept that both represent stereotype and cultural resistance. He explained that in order for the Chicano to understand machismo, he must examine the components of the duality separately, and re-define the machismo experience. Mirande explained that in fact machismo is a very important cultural trait, but it is not a pathological or criminal trait, as early social scientists and the Anglo community had once believed. In fact Machismo represents honor, dignity, cultural identity and resistance to colonization.

It [machismo] symbolizes the pride, dignity, and tenacity of the Chicano people as they have resisted the onslaught of colonization. It symbolizes, most importantly, resistance to acculturation and assimilation into Anglo society. If the term is associated with the male and with masculinity, it is not because he has more actively resisted acculturation and assimilation but perhaps his resistance has been more visible and manifest. (Mirande, 1981, p. 27)

Mirande's work has always been representative of the Chicano scholar who felt that machismo is a cultural representation of their identity as a Chicano male. Research such as Mirande's is an example of not only the quest of the Chicano male to claim an identity within a colonized nation, but it also represents the reluctance to examine masculinity under the lens of patriarchy. By addressing machismo as a component of patriarchy, the Chicano male would then have to revisit and address socially defined "masculine behaviors as being oppressive to women." Scholars such as Mirande, revisited over the years the ideology of machismo with the intention of defining it as a positive, and assigning the negative aspects of the ideology as part of a conspiracy theory by mainstream society to create a pathological or inferior image of the Chicano male. By focusing on the perceived positive attributes of machismo, Mirande failed to address the underlying issues of power and control that go beyond an internal colonial model which address inequality based on race and class, ignoring the issue of gender. Mirande's research set the stage for a new decade of research that would then debate over the concept of machismo as an external pathological cultural trait in which the male is violent and delinquent or rather machismo is representative of Chicano cultural pride, honor, respect and identity.

Machismo as a Binary

Mirande (1986) continued to argue that machismo research had been based on stereotypes and incompetence on the part of ethnographers. He made an interesting statement that when machismo is applied to Anglo men it has positive connotations but

when applied to Chicanos and Latinos it carries negative images and stereotypes of violent and drunkard males.

The word macho is now widely used to encompass everything from rock stars and male symbols in television to "macho burritos." When applied to entertainers, athletes, or "superstars" the meaning is clearly positive, connoting strength, virility, masculinity and sex appeal. But when applied to Mexicans or Latinos, macho remains imbued with negative attributes such as male dominance, patriarchy, authoritarianism, and spousal abuse. (Mirande, 1986, p. 63)

He continued with his argument that machismo is part of the cultural fabric of Chicanos but the problem is that the research has been conducted by outsiders rather than insiders who thus enter the research with racist bias and do not have enough expertise culturally to conduct fair research. He conducted his research looking at two models of machismo, the compensatory model and the nationalistic/cultural model.

In the compensatory model the origins of machismo are traced to the Spanish conquest of Mexico, as the powerless colonized man attempts to compensate for deep-seated feelings of inadequacy and interiority by assuming an overly masculine and aggressive stance. The second model grounded in a less pejorative conception of Mexican culture and national character. Rather than focusing on violence and male dominance, emphasis is placed on the evolution of a code of ethics that stresses honor, respect and courage. Machismo according to this view, is the result of adherence to this code. It is not manifested by outward qualities such as physical strength or virility, but by inner ones such as personal integrity,

commitment, loyalty and most importantly, strength and character. (Mirande, 1986, p. 65)

He stated that both models are biased.

It was anticipated that respondents would greatly identify with the word macho and define it as a positive trait or quality in themselves and other persons....respondents who had greater ties to Latino culture and Spanish language would be more likely to identify machismo and to assign it more positive associations. (Mirande, 1986, p. 65)

He compared the "bad macho with the good macho." The bad macho is the authoritative patriarchy described in the compensatory model by Guerrero (1967), Bermudez (1955), Ramos(1965), Paz (1961), Stevens (1965), and Madsen (1973) who described a violent and dominating patriarch with exaggerated masculine characteristics in response to the feeling of being powerless as a colonized male. Mirande stated that the good machismo which is found more in the Mexican folklore and cultural frameworks such as corridos portrays machismo in terms of integrity, honor and respect from within the males own community, while denouncing the negative attributes of violence and aggressiveness.

The behavior of the pelado or the gran chingon which is full of bravado, boasting and lewd conduct would not be considered manly. A good macho does not boast about real or imagined conquests or treat women disrespectfully. (Mirande, 1986, p. 69)

Mirande conducted empirical research on both Chicano and Mexican/Latino males. Although his conclusions were not conclusive, he made some very important conclusions that re-state his previous perspectives of machismo in earlier decades. He concluded machismo is very complex, and that it is not a simple binary of good and bad. More importantly he called in question that machismo is a cultural trait valued by those who are closer to Mexican/Latino culture. He found, that those who were less assimilated seemed to view machismo as a negative, and did not value it as much as more acculturated Chicanos.

If machismo is an important cultural value, one would also expect persons with closer ties to Latino culture and the Spanish language to be more apt to identify and to have positive associations with it, but the opposite tendency was found to be true. These findings are compounded by social class, however, in the sense that people who are professionals are much more apt to prefer English interviews and to be positive toward machismo, whereas those who are working class generally prefer Spanish and are negative toward machismo. (Mirande, 1986, p. 84)

He did state that an important conclusion was made that previous research has treated machismo as a singular concept when it rather is a binary concept of positive and negative traits both which make up machismo. "If one looks carefully at the two models of machismo, moreover it is clear that virtually every trait associated with negative machismo has its counterpart and in a positive macho trait" (Mirande, 1986, p. 84-85).

Tomas Almaguer (1991) discussed machismo and sexuality in terms of homosexual identity and the way sex roles of homosexual males are defined in terms of power. He discussed sexuality in terms of active and passive participants which he credits to the colonization by the Spanish. He discussed Marvin Goldwert's work that claims that the Mexican's viewpoint of masculinity is deeply embedded into the Mexican culture and male psyche through a long history of being a colonized people. He states "In this formulation Mexican men are disposed to affirm their otherwise insecure masculinity through the symbolic sexual conquest of the women (Almaguer, 1991, p. 80). Almaguer argued,

This cultural and psychic structure has particular significance for men who engage in homosexual behavior. Paz notes that active/male and passive/female construction in Mexican culture has direct significance for the way Mexicans view male homosexuality...Aggressive, active, and penetrating sexual activity therefore, becomes the true marker of the Mexican man's tenuous masculinity. It is attained by the negation of all that is feminine within him and by the sexual subjugation of women. (Almaguer, 1991, p. 80)

He stated that a man's "masculinity" is not endangered when participating in homosexual intercourse as long as he takes the role as the active participant. "Only the male who plays the passive sexual role and exhibits feminine gender characteristics is considered to be truly homosexual" (Almaguer, 1991, p.101).

Thus there is a correlation between machismo being associated with being truly male and being the active dominant role within a relationship.

Castaneda 's (1996) analysis of machismo offered the argument that machismo is more than a binary dealing with the positive and negative, or as Castaneda offered, "good" and "bad" characteristics of machismo, but rather machismo is a complex form of oppression that is deeply rooted in its patriarchal society that hides machismo's true face by classifying it in terms of a positive image vs. a negative image.

Castaneda gave his analysis of machismo in terms of linguistic discourse. He described machismo as a form of social interaction and communication. He referred to this type of discourse as macho oratory, which adopts the same concepts of patriarchal power and aggression for social domination, through discourse. As Castaneda stated,

Macho oratory says, 'I take my right to speak and assume your power and right to do the same'. Furthermore, it says, 'I will not insult you by pretending I can manipulate you.' (Castaneda, 1996, p. 48)

Castaneda viewed machismo in Guatemala in the same terms as machismo is viewed among Chicanos and Mexicanos, through the binary lens of aggressiveness vs. honor. Through his description of the macho oratory, Castaneda was careful to denote that macho oratory is very different than that of macho discourse. Castaneda referred to the negative machismo as the characteristics of an inflated ego, the characteristics of being authoritative, aggressive and domineering that is often associated with "negative machismo" in the Chicano community. Castaneda argued that the Guatemalan macho oratory, "good machismo" is based on codes of honor, respect, and strength. "Macho

speaking assumes the listener is as strong and aware as the speaker, perhaps more, (while the “bad” machismo is the) “challenge to resist weakness of will and ruinous humility that which is lower esteem than humbleness” (Castaneda, 1996, p. 48).

Machismo as a Working Class Ideology

Manuel Pena (1991) conducted a participant observation ethnography on immigrant Mexican field workers in the Californian Central Valley. Pena logged over 400 hours of time working in the fields alongside the Mexican migrant workers and recorded over 100 “jokes” as he called Charritas Coloradas, which were based on sexist attitudes towards women. In such jokes and folklore, women are portrayed as traitors and sexually unfaithful, and are referred to as the “treacherous woman.” Pena explained that because of class struggles, machismo becomes a type of coping mechanism for the Mexican male who finds himself powerless in a capitalist society which oppresses him racially and economically.

For working-class men the obsession with machismo goes beyond gender domination and, in fact, links up ideologically with the problem of class inequality. As one informant states, “We carry on like this to make light of things for a moment, to forget the problems of life for a moment-the toil, the struggle.” (Pena, 1991, P. 43)

The Chicana woman is portrayed in such folklore as the scapegoat or enemy to the patriarchal cultural that the Mexican male wants to hold on to as his only source of control. For working class Mexicanos, machismo is their ultimate outlet for supremacy. They view the Chicana or Mexican American woman as the force that tries to take this

last form of control away from them by demanding equality and sending these messages across the border to Mexico.

Given their sexist attitude, it is not surprising that the men at S&J Growers were especially critical of Mexican-American men for letting their "natural" authority over women erode by giving in to their demand for equality. Most important, they feared that these changes were being exported to Mexico and that soon women there would also want to be like men. (Pena, 1991, p. 43)

Pena gave a very interesting viewpoint on how capitalist interests perpetuate the ideology of machismo as a way to insure that the working class does not develop class consciousness and unite to address their struggle.

They have yielded instead to the sexist ideology of machismo, which also serves the ruling classes by imposing cultural limits on working-class consciousness that might develop solidarity between men and women. The range of this working-class consciousness reduced, these male proletarians translate their economic subordination into symbolic expressions that voices their class resentment in terms that are culturally rewarding, if politically displaced. (Pena, 1991, p. 43)

Mathew Guttmann (1994) challenged the idea that machismo is found mainly in the lower economic classes. Guttmann conducted an ethnographic study in a colonia in Mexico and although he concluded that Machismo is a complex ideology that is interpreted differently among generations, class, and economic group and between genders, he does find that poorer class Mexicans tend to be less traditional in their views of gender roles, than the upper economic classes. He found that although out of

necessity, males in lower economic rungs of society tend to participate more in the family and domestic realms of the home. Because of economic need, more women are working to help supplement the income, and men are sharing more of the household responsibilities. Gutmann found that the wealthier classes tend to maintain traditional gender roles because they can economically provide for such a life style. The exaggerated forms of masculinity, abusiveness, womanizing, and domination of the woman are not considered as a positive attribute of a man. Although the word Macho has both positive and negative connotations depending on the person, machismo generally is seen as a positive ideology. Machismo for both economic classes is respect, love, affection for one's family, honor and responsibility for the family as provider and protector. Gutmann's research was a turning point in gender research on men. Unlike previous scholars, Gutmann challenged the theory that machismo is a negative quality found in men of the lower class due to economic and social inequality. His study began to look at the role women, other than "marianistas," who are mere victims of the stereotypical "macho." He concluded that true machismo, honor, respect, and love for his family, is what allows the Mexican man to change with the times and take on roles that were traditionally "female roles" like washing dishes.

Like Pena (1991), Guttmann attributed machismo to a working class ideology, which is viewed as a response to the economic and class struggle. Guttmann, not only discussed machismo as a response to class and economic inequalities, but like previous scholars such as Mirande, he attempted to portray machismo as a dyad, which represented both a positive and negative form of the ideology. As Guttmann, offered, the positive form of

machismo, is what allows working class men, to take on domestic duties, which in earlier times would not be defined as a macho act. Though, it is interesting, how, the concept of males and domestic roles are made to appear acceptable, by calling portraying these acts as “true machismo.”

Machismo in Response to Patriarchy

Inez Cardozo-Freeman (1975) basically took the same cultural perspective as many previous social scientists had, showing the Mexican family as a male dominated patriarchy. She used the pathological model of earlier psychologists to describe the mother as the silent sufferer of pain. Her basic premise was that:

Women in Mexico live in a restrictive, male dominated culture and therefore resent and fear men.. Everything that keeps a women suppressed is bound up in children of how much she has suffered for them and how therefore the children owe everything to their mother. (Cardozo, Freeman, 1975, p. 15)

This basic suffering and fear of men is learned through games that children play. She argued that traditional school yard games and songs that children play instill rigid patriarchal values that reinforce a women’s place in society, and men’s dominance over them.

Folklore can serve as a safe vehicle for protest against such harsh restrictions and attitudes imposed by society. Some of the games Mexican girls play may give expression to the feelings of hostility, fear, and frustration that the Mexican woman endures in her culture. In a sense her play as a young girl appears to be

practice or preparation for the pain and injustice she must endure as a woman.

(Cardozo-Freeman, 1975, p. 15-16)

This is an interesting conceptualization of one of the many ways women are socialized in her family role. Rudulfo Anaya (1996), stated,

Being Macho is essentially a learned behavior. We males learn to act 'manly' from other males around us; ...Still, beneath the conditioned behavior, the essence of what maleness means remains largely unchanged across time. We can describe the conditioning and its effects; it is more difficult to describe the essence of maleness, especially today, when males seem to be retreating from describing, or laying claim to, a positive macho image. (Anaya, 1996, p. 59)

Rudulfo Anaya's essay attempted to un-layer machismo, and offers the theory that machismo can become a symbiotic ideology in which it transgresses from being a negative portrayal of exaggerated male behavior and transforms into characteristic of honor and respect. Like many scholars, Anaya viewed machismo in simple binaries of exaggerated external physical traits vs. intrinsic emotional traits, such as honor, respect, warmth, assertiveness, and responsibility. Anaya attempted to use differential consciousness or as he claims a "new consciousness" to examine how society raises males to embrace the negative characteristics of machismo rather than embody the positive. In all fairness, Anaya acknowledged that patriarchal based society and historical depictions through tradition and legends have contributed to the way males learn to identify with exaggerated and external forms of male behavior. Anaya truly believed that he is presenting revolutionary ideas by being able to recognize that

patriarchy is responsible for the gender roles that mold what the male and female image is supposed to emulate. Unfortunately, Anaya hasn't truly reached that level of divergent thinking that he thinks he has reached, because he doesn't acknowledge or can not recognize that the images he holds as sacred and positive for both male and female are part of the intricate and very dangerous web of patriarchy which, creates a curtain that shades the true face of machismo.

Simply in Anaya's subtitle "The Woman Creates the Macho", the reader can see that Anaya has been blinded by the deception of patriarchy, and thus can not see that it is not the woman who creates the macho, but rather the man. Anaya stated,

We learn about the sexual behavior from other males of the clan, but the mother, if she does the raising of the male child, is a most crucial ingredient in the evolving macho role. Food warmth, protection, the first sounds and all that has to do with the tactile sense of the first years on earth are provided by the mother.

(Anaya, 1996, p. 67)

Anaya failed to understand that nurturing, love and warmth are characteristics that have been assigned to women as their gender role within the institution of the church, and the family, both patriarchal based. In directly, Anaya was laying claim, that it is the job of the woman to spiritually and emotionally instill characteristics that create a positive macho if you will, rather than a negative macho. He failed to understand that the woman doesn't create such images, but rather patriarchy does. Patriarchy through religion has socialized and perpetuated the idea that the "good, virtuous woman" raises her son to adhere to the patriarchal values of the positive macho.

Patriarchy has created binaries in which we view gender roles of both males and females. Anaya has attempted to look at the positive/negative binary of both gender roles, but he underestimates the actual complexity of gender roles because he is viewing men and women through a binary lens. Indirectly Anaya acknowledged the binary opposite of machismo, marianismo, but he didn't fully unpack this representation of the female gender role, to understand that, like machismo, it is part of the complex tool to oppress both men and women. In Anaya's analysis of gender roles he labeled the male role as machismo and marianismo as the female gender role. In the same way that Anaya viewed machismo in terms of positive and negative he also viewed marianismo in the same binary scope not realizing that the perceived positive characteristics are in reality the hidden forces that allow patriarchy to prosper and perpetuate the oppression of both Chicanas and Chicanos.

Ana Castillo (1995) built upon the definition of patriarchy in her discussion of machismo as an oppressive ideology that oppresses both men and women. Many Chicanos have criticized Castillo's theory, saying that she has unfairly portrayed them as oppressing women in response to being subordinate to the Anglo man. In reality, Castillo believed that Anglo machismo dominates everyone, which makes us question then what the difference is between machismo and patriarchy?

Castillo refuted the works of Paz, Ramos, Paredes, and explained that machismo is not a response to colonization, that the Aztecs had a patriarchal society prior to the Spanish conquest. In reality, she explained that machismo is an ideology that originated in

Islamic North Africa and was brought to Spain during the Occupation of Spain by the Moors.

This Arab ideology viewed women as mere property, or as Castillo explained a commodity to be bought and sold. Castillo posed the idea that patriarchal society has created rules that make machismo necessary for women to actually be able to participate socially (Castillo, 1995). The concept of a man taking care of his family is an important element of machismo that Castillo examined. Although, taking care of one's family, honor, respect are positive qualities, they in fact have negative consequences in a patriarchal society (Castillo, 1995). Castillo broke down some of these elements, to explain how even perceived positive qualities are in fact oppressive. For example, the institution of marriage and the nuclear family, where the male is the provider forces the woman, to become financially, sexually and economically dependent on the male. Castillo illustrated this by explaining how unwed mothers were unable to get prenatal insurance through their employer in the 1970's. Today, women in common law or lesbian relationships are unable to receive medical benefits from their partner's job. Thus, women are forced to accept the idea that they must marry in order to have children (Castillo, 1995).

Castillo continued to illustrate how machismo continues to oppress women through the concept of the male as the protector. Many women feel afraid to go out at night unaccompanied by a man. We rely on a man to protect us from other men who may try to harm us. Patriarchal society has reduced women to a mere sexual object that needs to be protected or that may be stolen. If one stops to think what makes a woman afraid to

walk outside at night alone, the answer is easy, sexual assault. Castillo explained that the preservation of a woman's virtue is directly correlated with family honor. In the old days, women's virginity was a commodity to be sold into marriage (Castillo, 1995). A woman who was raped was deemed worthless, and she was dependent on the oldest male in the family to wage a vendetta against the rapist in order to restore the family honor. The family honor is based on the male's ability to protect their property (women). Castillo also gave an explanation for jealousy that many times is equated with an exaggerated form of machismo. Like honor, objectification, violence, jealousy comes from Arab culture, and is used to objectify the woman as a mere monetary value. And like all monetary commodities, men value their property and don't want it stolen or used by another. Unfortunately, machismo according to Castillo's viewpoint has reduced women to a mere economic commodity. Castillo concluded her argument by addressing the fact that "Men are not born machos, they are made machos" and "feminism is what women would be without machismo" (Castillo, 1995, p. 82).

Castillo's essay on machismo was the first piece of scholarship that moved beyond the argument of machismo being linked to Mexican/Chicano culture, and uncovered a more intricate relationship to a patriarchy. As Castillo's scholarship showed, by examining machismo in terms of patriarchy we are better able to examine the more covert forms of machismo that as Castillo argued are mistaken for a code of ethics, but in reality are an extension of patriarchy.

Machismo as a Binary Revisited

The 1997 study by Alfredo Mirande re-examines Pleck's (1981) study which examined the male masculinity paradigm and conducted a similar study on Chicanos and Mexicans in the United States. Like Guttman he concluded that there is no single Chicano/Latino ideology of machismo but a variety that is very hard to distinguish. This study used two different sex role inventories which yield conflicting results. The first inventory, the Bem Sex Role Inventory (BSRI) found that unlike the Guttman study, educated professional men and, scored higher on the masculinity test, and tended to be more traditional than those of the working class. Though, when he conducted a more culturally sensitive inventory, the Mirande Sex Role Inventory (MSRI), he received conflicting results, and found the upper class a lot less traditional in their views, than the lower class. Mirande concluded that the BSMI inventory tended to measure masculine traits of the dominant class, such as lack of emotion, insensitivity, which tend to be more characteristic of Anglo masculinity. This corresponded back to the Paredes study in 1967, which referenced traits of Anglo masculinity. The MSRI showed that Latino masculinity traits included internal characteristics such as warmth, affection, self sufficiency, responsibility, honor, and assertiveness. This study is important because it suggests that masculinity is culturally sensitive and Mirande defined the difference between macho and machismo, which many studies have failed to do. According to Mirande's study, machismo is a binary phenomenon and as stated previously, it is culturally sensitive and varies among cultures. For the Non U.S born Mexican/Latino, the term macho is reserved for the irresponsible male, who does not take care of his family, who drinks heavily, and has multiple women. On the other hand, machismo is a

code of ethics for men that dictate honesty, responsibility, a positive work ethic, self reliance, honor, and man taking care of the family. Although this study attempted to show the complexities of machismo along race and class lines, it failed to address patriarchy which is a very important element, in understanding machismo and the role of machismo in the family structure. As Castillo's scholarship argued, patriarchy is the basis of machismo. She explained that whether machismo is a response to colonialism, poverty, class structure or race, is in reality a response to social structures all based on patriarchal ideals.

Maria Castaneda (2002) conceptualized machismo in her book *El Machismo Invisible*, as a binary ideology between the visible attributes of machismo that one is accustomed to seeing vs. the invisible machismo that is often gone unlabeled as machismo. Castaneda discussed how both men and women are socialized into gender roles that perpetuate invisible machismo, which allows it to go undetected as the mirror image of the visible machismo which is equated with violence, aggressiveness, abuse, and domination. The invisible machismo that Castaneda wrote about is more subtle, but equally debilitating like the visible form of machismo. The invisible machismo includes the infantilization of the woman, the devaluation of the domestic role, the power of the male to interrupt during conversations, physical intimidation through body language, the need to protect women. Castaneda gave an example of invisible machismo that demonstrates how society perpetuates this ideology by making the woman invisible.

On the other hand making the woman invisible is very common in our society for example; a couple enters a store or a restaurant. The woman asks a question to an

employee or waiter and the answer is directed not to her, but to the male.

(Castaneda, 2000, p. 28)

Castaneda continued to explain that invisible machismo appears in forms when men believe that women are less intelligent than men, irrational or deficient cognitively in some respect. "In this way many men send a mixed message to women. They tell them that they are intelligent and capable but with their reactions and attitudes they transmit that in reality they are foolish and immature" (Castaneda, 2000, p. 122). Castaneda argued in her conceptualization of machismo that this invisible, less detected form of machismo hurts men as it does women. She explained how it locks men and women into strict gender roles, in which men are afraid to challenge due to the fear of being labeled "effeminate". The classification of emotions and activities into feminine and masculine is again how machismo exists undercover, and successfully oppresses men and women without being detected as machismo.

Inside the scheme of machismo exists a great variety of activities that are classified as feminine and it is the part of machista discourse to perpetuate the idea that men should not know about or take part in these activities in order not to appear effeminate. (Castaneda, 2000, p. 115)

She argued that in this way both men and women become limited in society by this perpetuation of invisible machismo. The concept of invisible machismo is an important theory which helps us qualify the argument that there exists a good machismo vs. a bad machismo as Mirande tried to articulate in the 1980's. Castaneda's theory of the invisible machismo is a revolutionary concept that requires a look at patriarchy as a more

complex ideology and examine how machismo is not always perpetuated in the concrete overt terms that early Anglo scholars perceived machismo to be.

Concluding thoughts.

The literature presented in this chapter has been an attempt to understand the evolution of theories which have attempted to explain the ideology of machismo. We have seen the ideology of machismo being described in the early 1940's as a culturally deficient trait of the Mexican family in which the father held a domineering role over the other family members, particularly the female members. The cultural deficiency model continued on as leaders of the psychological world continued to portray the Chicano/and Mexican psyche as some how socially deviant and inferior to that of the Anglo. As the literature has examined the perceptions of why machismo existed and how it has manifested, was centered on non-empirical evidence that was extracted from the private sphere. The scholarship of this time also represented the political climate of the period which tried to justify the push to assimilate culturally diverse peoples into White American culture, as well as represent a period of xenophobia that arose with the influx of immigration.

As we have seen through the scholarship that arose during the civil rights era, Chicanos began distinguishing themselves as a separate culture and group from the perceived dysfunctional Mexican. Chicano scholarship emerged in defense of machismo as a positive cultural attribute fueled by nationalism rather than patriarchy. As we saw through the review of literature, the merging of both the feminist and nationalist Chicana voice began to give an often less romanticized version of machismo as the females began to challenge machismo as a structural ideology which contributes to the oppression of

women. Although, many of the Chicana writers spoke out against Rendon's cry that machismo was a mechanism necessary for cultural preservation, many Chicanas debated the issue of cultural alliance and the acceptance of oppression caused by machismo as a necessary action in fighting race and class inequalities.

It wasn't until the 1980's and 90's that we began to see Chicana feminist scholarship address the theory that males are victims of internal colonialism, and machismo was thought to be a response to the oppression caused by internal colonialism. Chicana feminist scholarship began to examine the theory that when machismo was used as a defense mechanism by Chicano men, it became a source of oppression for women, resulting in Chicano men oppressing Chicana women. Though, as the scholarship indicated, the oppression caused by machismo was viewed more in overt concrete behaviors, and the concepts of power and control as a result of these behaviors were not adequately unpacked. Rather, both Chicana and Chicano scholars emphasized the power inequalities based on structural restraints due to race and class, ignoring the power inequalities created by machismo beyond the physical oppression women were experiencing in the private sphere.

As the analysis of the scholarship has shown, the male Chicano scholars have eagerly tried to denounce machismo as being a negative ideology by theorizing in fact that it is a dyad comprised of positive and negative attributes, the positive ones being both code of true masculinity and a tool for cultural preservation. As we have seen through the pioneering research of Ana Castillo and Maria Castaneda, in fact all machismo is oppressive as it stems from the same patriarchal bases which have been used to oppress

women for centuries. As Castaneda theorized, this “invisible” machismo is hard to see as it hides in everyday roles and social functions, and codes of gender based behavior. By addressing machismo as a two tier system of overt behaviors and covert behaviors, we begin to unpack the complexity of machismo that has been debated for decades. The theoretical framework is strongly based on Castillo’s theory that machismo is a patriarchal based ideology and Castaneda’s theory that machismo has both overt and covert forms. By combining these two theories, one may suggest that machismo is a complex ideology rooted in patriarchy.

In examining the various perspectives of machismo presented in this lit review we see that machismo has been observed both in the private and public spheres. Early scholarship examined machismo within the home and incorrectly concluded that machismo was a result of a cultural deficiency or pathological behavior. While later scholars in the 60’s and 70’s counteracted these accounts by arguing that machismo was a result of struggle in the public sphere created by racism and classism. In terms of the research presented in the proceeding chapters I would like to propose the theory that in fact machismo is a complex ideology grounded in patriarchy as Castillo theorized and is a response to power struggles both in the public and private sphere and exhibits the covert and overt characteristics proposed by Castaneda. Keeping these theories in mind, the research in this project will examine how machismo creates struggles along gender lines and how these struggles affect the distribution of power and control within the family structure.

CHAPTER TWO

METHODOLOGY

Design

My study is designed to allow me to measure gender roles and stereotypes associated with machismo and the Chicano family. The purpose for this study is to measure machismo in Mexican and Chicano men in the United States and determine how the perceptions of machismo influence the behaviors of Chicanos and Mexicans and the distribution of power within the family. The study consists of three measures which include (1) oral interviews (2) behavioral observations and (3) written surveys. Both the written survey and oral interview consists of questions that help answer how both men and women define machismo in the United States and the effects it has on their daily lives both inside and outside the home. The study is designed to consider machismo as a response to economic, social, and racial struggles that Chicanos/Mexicans face in a capitalistic society. The study considers the effects assimilation/acculturation have on the level of machismo exhibited by Chicanos and Mexicans in the U.S, how Chicanos/as/Mexicans define machismo, whether overtly or covertly, the struggles in the U.S. that cause both overt and covert displays of machismo, and how machismo contributes to the way in which power is distributed within the family structure. Each question is carefully designed to measure one or more of the above factors. The study is designed based on the research data that I gained from the literature review and on a pilot study designed to measure characteristics of overt and covert forms of machismo as well as the way in which the Chicano and Mexican men in California define machismo.

Participants

Participants consist of both Chicano/a and Mexicano/a men and women. The study attempted to interview a total of 32 participants, 4 subjects for each of the 8 sub-groups. The sub-groups included university educated and high school educated third and fourth generation Chicano and Chicana men and women, and Mexican male and female immigrants who did not immigrate to the U.S. before the age of twelve. All participants were randomly chosen from the San Joaquin and Silicon Valley region of central California. A general e-mail and hard copy flyer distributed to friends, family, university professors and Latino specialty stores and markets asked people of Mexican and Chicano origin to participate in a study about machismo. Participants were chosen primarily based upon place of birth, number of years in the U.S, education attainment, economic class and gender. The reason for considering these variables was to analyze how assimilation/acculturation affects machismo and how it affects gender relations between men and women. Due to the fact that machismo is seldom discussed and analyzed within the Latino community, participants were reluctant to volunteer to participate. The majority of the participants who participated in the study agreed to the terms of the study after careful explanation of the protocol and procedures. Participants were accepted on a first come first serve basis until the quota for each sub group was met.

Operationalization of Terms

In order to conduct this study the terms Chicano/a, Mexicano/a, machismo, macho, machista, and marianismo need to be operationalized.

Chicano/a: This term refers to the U.S born individuals with at least one parent of Mexican descent. This term is used as an ethnic/national label to identify American born individuals of Mexican descent only. This is not used as a political term or as a general label for Latinos⁶ in the U.S.

Mexicano/a: This term refers to Mexican born nationals living in the U.S as either Mexicano or Mexicana. This term is limited to Mexican immigrants/migrants who were born in Mexico and lived part or all of their childhood years in Mexico before immigrating to the U.S.

Macho: The term macho is operationalized as a male who demonstrates either internal or external characteristics of machismo. For the purpose of this study macho represents both perceived positive and negative qualities of machismo. The researcher acknowledges that culturally this term is used negatively when referring to a male who practices machismo.

Machista: The term machista is operationalized as the Spanish term for Chauvinistic or sexist. Machista represents the idea of male superiority over women, and power inequality in male-female relationships.

Muy Hombre: This term meaning "very much a man" is operationalized for the purpose of the survey and interview as a "code of honor which to be a man was to be responsible,

⁶ Latinos: Individuals born in Central and South America, Cuba, Puerto Rico and Caribbean Islands.

honorable, a man of his word that was responsible and protector of his family.”⁷ The purpose of this term is used to refer to the qualities of a “real man” vs. a macho or machista.

Machismo: This term is operationalized as a complex ideology that explains in cultural terms how the notion of being a man is defined as both overt physical displays of masculinity and covert traits that society deems as important that men have in response to the struggles one faces to maintain one’s sense of self worth as a human being.

Machismo is defined in simple terms as non-biological characteristics of masculinity. Biological masculinity means male hormones, genitalia, reproductive organs which define the male sex. The non biological characteristics of masculinity that are used to define machismo are divided into overt characteristics and covert characteristics.

Overt Machismo: Overt characteristics are the observable physical forms of machismo such as boasting, violence, rudeness which are displayed by the individual participant. Often the overt characteristics are the negative attributes of machismo that people most readily identify machismo with because these are the behaviors that are visible and easy to identify.

Covert Machismo: Covert characteristics are the hidden characteristics which are not necessarily visible by observing a person’s physical behavior. Characteristics of covert machismo are often considered to be part of a “positive” perspective of machismo. Such perspectives of machismo can be used to understand many of the traits that men should have as a productive human being, yet these traits covertly become a way of pushing a

⁷ Dr. Arturo Campa, Denver Colorado: personal interview by Juliette Silvia Ruiz. Clarification of the Conceptions of Machismo and Hembrismo.

sexist agenda because they are based on a patriarchal agenda that has systematically used these traits to socialize and oppress women into inferior positions in society based on codes of honor and virtue. Covert traits of masculinity used in a sexist agenda include responsibility, honor, parenthood, tradition, pride etc. Covert machismo is the intrinsic traits that in other contexts are perceived as positive humanistic attributes in society.

Under the ideology of machismo, such traits as bravery, respect, responsibility for the family, heroic, dignified, provider for example become distorted and covertly used to maintain a sexist agenda. For example, as patriarchal structures went through transformations in history, the preservation and protection of women's virtue became directly correlated with family honor, dignity, pride, moral character. This was due to the fact that women's virginity was a commodity to be sold into marriage. (Castillo, 69)

Within the context of covert machismo, the male is socialized to feel the need to protect, a woman from other men, who may potentially sexually abuse her. The need and capability to protect her is then directly linked to covert forms of machismo such as strength, respect, courage, bravery, honor etc which are linked to the concept of a woman's virtue as belonging to the family patriarch in terms of being a bargaining tool for the protection of patrimony.

Overt Machismo⁸

Aggressive
Dominant
Individualistic
Competitive

Covert Machismo⁹

Brave
Courageous
Responsible for Family
Respectful

⁸ Culturally these qualities are viewed as negative physical demonstrations of exaggerated masculinity.

⁹ These are traits which men should have but which at the same time can covertly be used to maintain a sexist agenda.

Chauvinistic
 Dishonorable
Abusive
 Irresponsible
Pretentious
 Bravo
Conformist
 External displays of virility
Headstrong
 Loud
Violent
 Heavy drinker
 Disrespectful
 Sexually Promiscuous
 Jealous
 Homophobic

Humble
 Formal
Strong
 Valor
Heroic
 Stoic
Paternal
 Proud
Dignified
 Family orientated
 Strength of moral character
 Self defensive
 Honest
 Provider
 Protector
 Sense of entitlement

Marianismo: This concept is operationalized as the counter part of machismo.

Marianismo is defined culturally as the internal feminine ideology based on patriarchal machismo that defines the qualities that make up a virtuous woman. This ideology includes the beliefs that women are saintly beings who must maintain purity and virtue which is not of their own, but belonging to their father or husband, depending on if the woman is a virgin or married. Women under marianismo are perceived to be emotionally stronger than men and capable of enduring pain. Marianismo represents the responsibility of the woman, as the emotionally stronger sex, to suffer and endure such suffering in silence. This term often is equated with hembrismo or the idea of “la sufrida”. The characteristics of marianismo have both overt physical traits and covert human traits, and like machismo, are non-biological learned responses which include the following:

Qualities of Overt Marianismo
 Compassionate

Qualities of Covert Marianismo
 Maternal

Qualities of Overt Marianismo

Sympathetic
Vulnerable
Warm
Tender
Understanding
Non-Sexual
Spiritual Superiority
Faithful
Loyal

Qualities of Covert Marianismo

Submissive
Gentle
Self-Reliant
Affectionate
Acceptance of sorrow in one's life.
Does not use obscene language
Feminine
Virtuous
Endurer of Pain

Data Collection

The collection of data involved human subjects, both men and women. I limited my study to the state of California. The study collected data from urban and rural areas in the state of California. Data included free response, open-ended interview questions and ethnographic observations. A written survey with the identical interview questions was used for subjects who were unable to participate in an oral interview. Subjects were individuals who respond to a public notice asking for participants of Mexican descent, both recent immigrants, and Chicanos whose families are either third or fourth generation Chicano/Mexican American. It was the intent of the study to collect data on Mexicanos/as and Chicanos/as living in the U.S from both a college educated and high school educated backgrounds. It was the intent of this study to interview or survey participants limited to third and fourth generation Chicanos/as and Mexican immigrants who were raised and socialized in Mexico at least until the age of 12 years old. The data was organized into 8 subgroups (1) college educated Mexican males, (2) high school educated Mexican males, (3) college educated Chicano males, (4) high school educated

Chicano males (5) college educated Mexican females, (6) high school educated Mexican females, (7) college educated Chicana females, (8) high school educated Chicana females.

Confidentiality of Participants Identity

All subjects who volunteered for this study and fit the demographic criteria were interviewed or surveyed. The demographic traits used to choose participants included, country of birth, gender, and educational attainment level. Social economic level, was not a deciding factor in choosing participants, although it was a characteristic examined in the study. The volunteer pool of subjects was mostly females, both Chicana and Mexicana. Two of the male subjects, participated because they accompanied their wife to the interview. The majority of the male participants were asked to participate personally by myself or by some of the female participants since most males were reluctant to volunteer to talk about machismo especially as part of a research project.

Oral interviews were conducted in the home of the participant, when possible which also, allowed the researcher to observe behavioral patterns and compare them to the feelings expressed in the survey. The behavioral observations consisted of the researcher observing the interactions of males and females within the home. The researcher recorded notes on how machismo is displayed and negotiated within the family structure. The behavioral observations and the oral interviews allowed the researcher to gather more complete data as well validate results.

Interview Questions¹⁰

The participants were asked a series of twenty questions that were correlated to the research questions. Each question was designed to answer one of the seven research questions concerning attitudes towards machismo. Through the interview questions, I was able to understand how Chicanos and Mexicanos understand machismo as well as how they feel machismo affects their daily lives.

Research Question #1 How do Mexican and Chicano/a women and men define the terms "macho", "machista", and "machismo"? Are these definitions positive or negative? How do these definitions compare and contrast?

In order to measure participants attitudes about machismo and how they define and understand the ideology participants were asked to define and differentiate between the terms macho, machista and machismo. They were also asked to discuss why society equates being macho with being a true man. The set of questions that correlate with this research question allowed me to understand the underpinnings of the way machismo is understood by both Mexicanos/as and Chicanos/as.

Research Question# 2. How is educational attainment linked to attitudes about machismo?

Participants were asked how an individual learns to be macho, and if they believe that educational attainment level influences a person's attitudes towards machismo. Participants were also asked about their own educational attainment level and schooling experience in order to better understand the correlation between education and machismo. Although this question was intended to measure academic educational attainment levels,

¹⁰ See Appendix A for complete list of interview questions correlated to research questions.

many of the Spanish speaking participants interpreted education in terms of educacion, or social behavior taught in the home.

Research Question #3. How is economics and social class linked to attitudes about machismo?

Participants were asked if they felt a person's social economic class had any influence over attitudes of machismo. Participants were also asked what economic class they belonged to in order to see if there was a link between social class and attitudes towards machismo.

Research Question # 4. Do acculturation and or assimilation influence perceptions of machismo?

Participants were asked a series of questions to measure their level of acculturation/assimilation, such questions included their language of preference when speaking, watching television and listening to music. They were asked to describe the types of activities they do on their leisure time as well as they way they identify ethnically. Participants were also asked to discuss their feeling on how assimilation/acculturation affects or changes attitudes towards machismo in the United States. The Chicano and Chicana participants answered the question about how assimilation/acculturation affects attitudes about machismo much more in depth than the Mexican male and female participants.

Research Question # 5 . Does Capitalism perpetuate machismo? Does this affect men and women differently? If so how?

In terms of understanding the relationship between Capitalism and machismo, participants were asked to discuss how the stratification of Chicanos and Mexicanos in the work force affected attitudes towards machismo. All the participants struggled when

answering this question. A number of participants asked to come back to the question towards the end of the interview to allow themselves an opportunity to understand their own viewpoints concerning capitalism and machismo. From my personal observations concerning this question, I would say this question was the most thought provoking and powerful question of the whole interview process.

Research Question # 6. How do the perceptions of machismo influence behaviors of Chicano/as and Mexicano/as and the distribution of power within the family?

Finally, participants were asked to examine how machismo affects the lives of men and women within the family structure as a general question, then they were asked to identify their own role within the family, and discuss if machismo exists in their family, how it affects them on a personal level.

Data Organization

Part of the data organization process included recording every single written response on the surveys as well as the transcription of oral taped interviews. Once surveys and interviews were completed they were organized according to language type and gender, according to educational level; and socio-economic class. Within the subgroups, the data results were subdivided into place of birth, U.S or Mexico. Once the data results had been classified into subgroups based on place of birth, socio-economics, and education, the actual data for each survey or interview question was categorized as either responses to overt machismo, covert machismo, non traditional gender roles, and responses to capitalism. In order for data to be organized into categories which represented characteristics of covert machismo, overt machismo, non-traditional gender roles and

responses to capitalism, the survey/interview questions were correlated with one or more of these categories.

Overt Characteristics of Machismo

Responses from these questions were analyzed to measure overt physical forms of machismo.

Interview Question 1. What is your definition of machismo, and the words macho and machista?

Sub question 1a Do you know some one who fits that definition?

Sub question 1b Why do you think they are that way?

Sub question 1c Do you fit that definition? Why or why not?

Interview Question 2. How does a person learn to be macho/machista?

Interview Question 3. Why is machismo equated with being a man?

Covert Characteristics of Machismo

Responses from the following questions were analyzed to measure for covert traits of machismo.

Interview Question 1. What is your definition of machismo, and the words macho and machista?

Sub question 1a Do you know some one who fits that definition?

Sub question 1b Why do you think they are that way?

Sub question 1c Do you fit that definition? Why or why not?

Interview Question 2. How does a person learn to be macho/machista?

Interview Question 3. Why is machismo equated with being a man?

Educational Attainment

Responses from the following questions were analyzed to measure educational attainment

Interview Question 4. Do you think a person's educational attainment level influences their perception of machismo? Why or why not?

Interview Question 14. Did you go to school in the U.S or Mexico?

Interview Question 15. What is the highest level of education completed?

Social Economic Status

Responses from the following questions were analyzed to measure S.E.S

Interview Question 12. According to your annual income would you consider yourself upper class, middle class, working class?

Interview Question 5. Do you think a person's social/economic class influences their perception about machismo? Why or why not?

Assimilation/Acculturation

Responses from the following questions were analyzed to measure level of assimilation/acculturation into U.S culture.

Interview Question 13. Were you born in the U.S?

Interview Question 16. How do you identify ethnically, Hispanic, Mexican, Latino, Chicano, Mexican American, Mexicano/a American of Mexican Descent, Spanish American or American?

Interview Question 17. What language do you speak mostly at home?

Sub question 17a What language do you speak with your friends?

Interview Question 18. Do you prefer to watch English television or Spanish television?

Interview Question 19. Do you prefer to listen to English radio or Spanish radio?

Interview Question 6. Do you think views of machismo change as people become more Americanized if so, how do they change?

Interview Question 20. Are the people at the places where you go to have fun and relax mostly Latino or Anglo?

Machismo as a Response to Capitalism

Responses from the following questions were analyzed to measure responses to capitalism.

Interview Question 10. What struggles in the U.S perpetuate machismo and how does this affect men and women?

Sub question 10a How does this personally affect your life?

Interview Question 11. Do you think a Chicano or Mexico male's position or job in the workforce has an affect on machismo?

Machismo as Non-Traditional Gender Role Characteristics

Responses from the following questions were analyzed to measure for non-traditional gender roles.

Interview Question 9. Can a woman be considered "Macha" or "machista", if so under what circumstances and how would she behave?

Interview Question 12. How does machismo impact or affect you and your family member's daily lives?

Sub question 12a. How do you perceive yourself within your family structure?

Interview Question 13. How does machismo affect or impact women within the family structure?

Variables

Males Born in the U.S

Males of Mexican descent (Chicano) born in the U.S-high school educated
Males of Mexican descent (Chicano) born in the U.S-college educated

Females Born in the U.S

Females of Mexican descent (Chicana) born in the U.S-high school educated
Females of Mexican descent (Chicana) born in the U.S-college educated

Males Born in Mexico

Males born in Mexico-high school educated
Males born in the Mexico-college educated

Females Born in Mexico

Females born in Mexico-high school educated
Females born in Mexico-college educated

Data Results

The results of this study are organized under the titles of the research questions in which they answer. This study was able to interview 28 males and females representing both Chicanos/as and Mexicanos/as both in the United States and Mexico.

Female Participants

5 Mexican working class females born in Mexico with an educational attainment level of high school or less, working class.

5 Mexicanas females born in Mexico with an educational attainment level of university B.A or higher (2 working class, 2 middle class and 1 upper class).

4 Chicana working class females born in the United States with an educational attainment level of university B.A or higher working class.

4 Chicana females born in the United States with an educational attainment level of high school or less, (1 working class, 3 middle class).

Male Participants

3 Mexican working class males born in Mexico with an educational attainment level of high school or less.

5 Chicano working class males born in the United States with an educational attainment level of university B.A. or higher.

2 Chicano working class males born in the United States with an educational attainment level of high school or less.

Organization of Subgroups

In comparing and contrasting the data and findings for the 7 different sub-groups the following terms are used to either distinguish the individual subgroups from one another and or discuss them as a group based on gender or nationality.

Chicana: Mexican American born female.

Chicano: Mexican American born male.

Mexicana: Mexican born female, living in the United States.

Mexicano: Mexican born male, living in the United States.

College Educated Chicana: This term refers to a Mexican American female with an educational attainment level of B.A. degree or higher.

High School Educated Chicana: This term refers to a Mexican American female with an educational attainment level of high school graduation.

College Educated Chicano: This term refers to a Mexican American male with an educational attainment level of B.A degree or higher.

High School Educated Chicano: This term refers to a Mexican American male with an educational attainment level of high school graduation.

College Educated Mexicana: This term refers to a Mexican born female with an educational attainment level of B.A degree or higher achieved in Mexico.

High School Educated Mexicana: This term refers to a Mexican born female with an educational attainment level of high school graduation achieved in Mexico.

College Educated Mexicano: This term refers to a Mexican born male with an educational attainment level of B.A.degree or higher achieved in Mexico.

High School Educated Mexicano: This term refers to a Mexican born male with an educational attainment level of high school graduation achieved in Mexico.

Women: This term refers to both Chicana and Mexicana female participants as one whole subgroup, including both high school educated and college educated participants

Men: This term refers to both Chicano and Mexicano male participants as one whole subgroup, including both high school educated and college educated participants.

Study Limitations

As in all gender role studies, this study has its limitations. This study is very narrow in scope and acknowledges that variables such as age and marital status may affect the data. The intended sample size was very small and was designed to only look at four participants from each of the eight subgroups, equally representing Mexican and Chicano/a males and females from both educated and uneducated backgrounds.

The fact that I am a woman has been the biggest limitation in the whole study. It was extremely hard to find male participants from any of the 4 subgroups who were willing to participate in the interview process and in this study. Although the male participants found the subject very interesting, and were willing to discuss machismo with me outside of an interview, they were not willing to be formally interviewed or surveyed for this study. I was never given a clear answer as to why they did not want to participate, except for one high school Chicano male who expressed unease about answering questions about machismo for a study, and one high school educated Mexicano who informed me that this subject matter was none of my business because I am a woman. I was not able to

survey an equal amount of males and females, nor have comparable male groups in terms of educational attainment levels among the Chicano and Mexicano male subgroups. My study design was intended to interview at least 4 participants from each sub group. I was able to interview at least 4 college educated and high school educated Chicanas as well as 5 high school educated and college educated Mexicanas. I was only able to interview 3 Mexican high school educated males, 5 college educated Chicanos and 4 high school educated Chicanos. I was unable to find any college educated Mexican male participants.

The in-ability to find college educated Mexican males was partly due to the geographical area of this study. Because the central valley is predominantly an agricultural area, many of the Mexican males are seasonal workers and normally don't have more than a high school education. This limitation creates ambiguity and inconsistencies in the study and makes it difficult to adequately compare the differences among Chicano male and Mexican male perspectives of machismo due to the fact that there were not any college educated Mexican males to compare against the attitudes of high school educated Mexican males and College and high school educated Chicanos.

Some may argue that social economic status (S.E.S) is another crucial variable that has created a limitation in this study. While S.E.S was examined in the data analysis, this study does not have equal representation of S.E.S among the participants surveyed. Due to the small sample size of the sampling, and the difficulty in acquiring participants, particularly male participants, it was not feasible to have equal representation of class structures in this study. It is important to acknowledge the fact that although many of the immigrant population surveyed hold college degrees, it is common for many immigrants

to become part of the working class due to assimilation and language barriers when arriving in the United States, thus making it difficult to compare class status between Chicano/a and Mexicano/a participants.

Geographic location has been another limitation to the validity of this study. This study was conducted mainly in the Central and Silicon Valley. Due to the narrow regional sampling, the results of this study do not necessarily represent the Chicano and Mexicano population for the whole state of California, nor the principle regions of the United States.

Although this study is a narrow sampling of the Chicano and Mexicano population in California, the research gained from this study is a very important step in addressing an issue that manifests itself along race, class and gender lines. This study and the participants that helped make it possible have offered insights into how racism, classism, and sexism in the United States are being used to oppress and debilitate members of the Latino community. Little research has been done on the crossroads of male gender issues with those of female gender issues. This study is important and should be validated as a beginning point to examine patriarchal ideologies such as machismo in a more complex way where previous studies have neglected to do. This study serves an important foundation for future explorations and analysis of the complexities of machismo in our Latino communities here in the United States.

CHAPTER THREE

FINDINGS

Data Overview

The preliminary data showed that machismo is defined in both overt and covert terms, and those in lower economic rungs paired with those of lesser educational attainment tend to view machismo in more overt forms. The term macho is equated with more covert characteristics, provider, respect and honor among working class non educated males/females. The term machista is seen in more overt forms of power and thus as negative because it is often equated with violence. Among the university educated Mexicanas this line is more blurred. Both macho and machista seem to be equated with the same, control, power and violence as a means to gain that control. Machismo is often not recognized in the upper class educated demographics, although it exists in covert forms, but is labeled in code words such as provider, protector, breadwinner etc.

The pilot study suggested that Americanization and or assimilation into American culture cause machismo to change or dissipate, but this was not the only cause found in this study. What the data showed is that the more assimilated participants tended to have the knowledge and or resources to respond to machismo, although they did not articulate the power struggles any differently than the less assimilated person. Rather, education level not S.E.S especially when paired with assimilation showed that machismo changes. The way machismo is articulated and experienced are dramatically different among the higher educated groups regardless of nationality. In the higher educational attainment levels machismo, often like racism becomes more covert, and what is interesting is that those who are more educated tended to discuss machismo in terms of power and control yet they claim that the more overt forms do not exist in their social rung, and thus

machismo is non existent. Though some participants did talk about the male as a provider for the family, protector, yet this was not deemed as machismo, neither overtly or covertly, which for the educated Chicana counterpart these women discuss privilege of space, and how such spaces allow them to understand how machismo manifests more overtly in the higher rungs of the S.E.S.

The data showed among all seven subgroups a continual theme of power and control, and the struggle to gain it in order to ultimately be deemed successful which is translated into ownership of people and the means of production or Power. The college educated Chicano/a community surveyed/interviewed were able to articulate ideologically the inner workings of the power struggle in the U.S that the high school educated community in the lower social economic sector was articulating in more 'real terms.'

Overall, the data showed that machismo has a huge effect on the distribution of power and control in the private sphere. The data showed how machismo oppresses women and men in the private sphere both mentally and physically. The data in this study showed that although machismo affects both males and females, the oppression manifests differently along gender lines.

Machismo the Ideology

Research Question #1: *How do Mexican and Chicano/a women and men define the terms “macho, machista and machismo”? Are these definitions positive or negative? How do they compare and contrast?*

High School Educated Mexicano Participants and Machismo the Ideology

The participants in this sub-group describe machismo in terms of power and control.

The terms machista, and macho were interchangeable, though generally speaking machista was used to define a more violent role of oppressing and controlling women and subordinate men.

Macho y machista es la misma cosa. Machista que golepa o se siente mas a los otras personas, machista pues es la forma que actualmente es macho. (High school educated Mexicano participant #2)

The participants also defined macho as having control over the family by being the breadwinner and fulfilling that role by maintaining a position of power and control in the workforce.

Macho puede ser muchas cosas. Siente poder de todo. Siente poder de toda la familia, que el que puede todo, que simplemente lo que el ordene, va a suceder es machista. Si casi la mayor parte de las tres, es la misma pregunta de todo de eso. Porque el hombre de la familia es el macho porque el mismo se siente poder de todo, y tiene poder de todo, el trabajo, de toda la casa, toda la familia. (High school educated Mexicano participant #1)

The participants felt that the reason that males act macho/machista is because they have been socialized as children by watching their parents adhere to gender specific roles as dictated by the ideology of machismo. Some of the participants in this subgroup felt that young children become macho/machista due to the trauma of watching their parents' behaviors in the home.

Esta persona, simplemente esta mal de la cabeza. Esta tramada por el mismo de lo mismo de los padres, de lo que el vio en eso. Los padres y el mismo enseñando el mismo ideal a el. (High school educated Mexicano participant #2)

The participants felt the reason why the term macho was equated with being a real man is due to the concept of male privilege and control. The participants discussed how a true man or as they refer to, a macho, has ultimate and complete control over animals, humans, and resources. As one participant discussed, the term macho once meant having domination and control over people. "Antes el macho representaba que dominaba todo. Hasta los animales, el macho representa dominada, representa todo." As this participant concluded the term macho represents the ultimate domination and control over everything. To be macho means to dominate and has become synonymous with being a real man.

College Educated Chicano Participants

The participants from this subgroup both have Native American and Chicano Studies backgrounds in college which is reflected in the way which they articulate the ideology of machismo. Due to their educational background the participants tended to analyze machismo in terms of intersections of race, class and gender and the concept of

colonialism by the White man. One particular participant really captured the essence of machismo as he explained his definition of machismo in terms of White colonial influence.

If you look at the word machismo it explains something that is important to patriarchy that really didn't coalesce in a world, in the way the Europeans thought it would, whether the Spanish or English, Dutch or French. And it became confused. They used definitions of machismo to explain White male interactions. (College educated Chicano participant #1)

The college educated Chicano male group gave a wide spectrum of answers on how they define machismo from overt stereotypical traits to more covert characteristics.

"Macho is a stereotype of a manly man, stoic, jealous, controlling, hot headed."

The college educated Chicano participants held theoretical knowledge and analyses which allowed them to articulate machismo in multiple terms which included describing the concepts of macho and machista in terms of positive or negative stereotypes of masculinity, forms of patriarchal control and oppression of women as well as physical violence. For example one of the college educated Chicanos defined machismo as the following:

What kind of machismo do we mean? A caring, faithful lover or an outcast? For many it is negative of how women are treated. They may be dead beats, irresponsible, lazy. For others it's sex or sex changes, gays, lesbians, transgenders, it's virgins. For others it's the power and dominations over women in all aspects of man's life. Superiority to women comes into play frequently.

(College educated Chicano participant #2)

The college educated Chicano males didn't really distinguish between the terminology of macho and machista as they view it as one in the same. One participant said, "a macho is basically again it goes back to try to define, trying to place an action in gender terms." They see machos and machistas as all part of the same ideology of machismo, which for them is defined as a mechanism of power and control when they feel disempowered because of racism, and classism experienced in the U.S. The articulation of how machismo creates and perpetuates oppression based on the unequal distribution of power and control differs along gender lines. The men viewed machismo as an ideology that is centered in the public sphere, namely the workplace, and they articulated how machismo is a mechanism to survive in the public sphere where men of color are being exploited and disempowered by racism and classism created by the white patriarch to maintain men of color on lower ends of the economic hierarchy. As College educated Chicano participant #4 explained,

Poverty, inequality –machismo gives men power and control when they don't have it any other way...For the Chicano or Mexicano the workforce is economic slavery which contributes to machismo. In capitalism more than ½ the population is exploited whether we are aware of it or not.

The participants from this subgroup equated being macho with being a "true man" based on the ideology of male supremacy, strength and the role of the male as protector of the perceived weaker sex, the female. As one participant explained, "since the beginning of time this has been the role of a true man of strength and character in all

creatures not only ours". Some of the participants also contributed this role of strength and role of protector originating in the old world and brought to the Americas during the European colonization. "It was a European code of ethics which men fought to protect women as well as win them but this has died out with the knights and chivalry" (College educated Chicano participant #1).

The participants felt that the ideology of machismo is not a trait a male is born with, but it is a learned trait which happens during the socialization of young boys both at home and in society in general. As one participant explained, "It's nurture vs. nature. He learns from his environment, his family, friends, schools, church."

High School Educated Chicano Participants

The high school educated male participants like their college educated counterpart defined machismo in terms of the common themes of superiority, power, control and strength over women and other men yet they differed in the respect that they described the terms macho and machista as very distinct entities. Unlike their college educated counterparts, the high school educated participants did not view the terminology macho and machista as holding the same definition, nor being interchangeable. The high school educated subgroups described a male gendered hierarchy which holds both positive and negative definitions for macho and machista. Like the college educated participants, the term machista held negative connotations. Usually among this group, this word was used to describe a male who exhibited overt forms of power and control, which often are viewed as being synonymous with violence. The high school educated Chicanos described the word macho in very covert terms as being the patriarch of the family,

provider, protector. The participants described the terms macho as being the ultimate goal of the hierarchal process which men must go through to achieve the respect and privilege that is assigned to the highest rung of machismo.

A man is like I said is respected. A macho is just the next kind of like level of being a man. A man is starting to become a man, finding a job, getting your family, starting your family. You become a macho, un hombre macho as you might call it when you have everything and you settle down. You have your family grown up to be nice, you know, not needy. That is a macho, a macho is a hard working man. That is everything honorly that takes care of his family. (High school educated Chicano participant #1)

The high school educated participants held very different and opposing viewpoints of the terminology of machista. As with the other sub-groups, the term machista holds the more negative overt stereotypes of what many people equate with the ideology of machismo such as the blatant overt physical attributes of womanizer, physically abusive, overpowering and having little regard for women.

A machista is another thing. A machista is a man that wants everything his way. He doesn't care what the woman thinks. He just says you know that I am the man here, soy un hombre, esto va a ser asi, y tal, tal y tal. Te guste o no te guste. That is a machista. See a man, un hombre he talks to his wife, sees the points of view and they come to certain agreements. (High school educated Chicano participant #1)

The term macho is equated with being a real man. The participants felt that a lot of the concept of being macho is correlated with a universal concept of masculinity. They felt this is a characteristic of all men, regardless of race or ethnicity.

Not every Hispanic is like that. To a certain point that we are called machistas. We have a large percentage of machistas who are part of the culture of Hispanics, but not all of us, but that is the stereotype that we have, we are machistas...but really no matter what ethnicity you come from all have some sort of machismo. There will, I can guarantee you 100% you will never find a man that is machismo free, you won't. (High school educated Chicano participant #1)

The participants in this sub-group didn't feel that machismo is a learned ideology but rather something that comes from inside by nature. They felt machismo is a natural attribute one is born with rather one that comes about from socialization.

A lot of women say why are men machista? That's our nature, its is our nature. No matter there will not be a pill, there will not be a cure, because it is not a disease.

It's within us it's our nature. (High school educated Chicano participant #1)

The participants in this subgroup, adamantly expressed that the ideology of machismo is very much part of what defines their gender roles and their masculinity. This particular group did not view machismo as a response to social influences, but rather they felt that machismo was an instinct which males are born with. Although, machismo is viewed as a product of nature rather than nurture, they distinguished between a macho, machista and a man, or as participant #1 stated "un hombre."

High School Educated Chicana Participants

Like the men, the women in this sub group articulate the ideology of machismo as an ideology of power and control. As one participant explained,

I think machismo is a power and control issue and that's it. Power and control, power and control that's it. If you want to define machismo, power and control, the feeling of power, the feeling of control. It makes them feel big. (High school educated Chicana participant #3)

The participants in this subgroup, like their high school educated male counterparts described a hierarchal difference between a man who is labeled as a macho vs. a man who is labeled as a machista. Like the male high school educated Chicanos, the term machista held more negative connotations as it was used to describe a male who exhibited overt forms of power and control, which are often viewed as being synonymous with violence. The term macho on the other hand was defined as the ideal notion that a male wants to achieve, a position of respect, finesse, and honor.

For me, a macho is from my point of view a man that has to be his way or the highway or whatever because he brings home the bacon. You know he wants to be the one that controls it. A macho for me is a man that I like the way he dresses, like a man not feminine. Or just being a polite man always and not cussing. (High school educated Chicana participant #2)

All the participants in this sub-group felt that machismo is a result of nurture and is a learned response that a male is socialized by viewing examples of his parents' gender roles at home.

Their parents and their grandparents, by their ancestors. That's how they start.

That way they continue. They want to do that as they were brought up, but that's how problems start when they get married as we go into the future, times change and they want to do what their parents do, what their parents did. That's when they get married, we as women don't want that for our kids. We want to stop it.

Sometimes it continues on and I think now a days we need to stop it. (High school educated Chicana participant # 2)

As this participant articulated, machismo becomes an ideology that is acquired through socialization and like many forms of domestic oppression, is passed down from one generation to the next. Unlike, the male participants, the high school female participants did not feel machismo is a result of nature, but rather of nurture.

College Educated Chicana Participants

The female participants like the male participants recognized that machismo stems from the oppression of men of color and is used as a way to empower themselves and survive in a capitalist society. They understand this ideology like the males do in terms of a class and race struggle based on a capitalist hierarchy in which people of color are in a class struggle as they fight to gain positions on higher economic rungs, the reason being that the higher class position hold the more rewards of power and control. The female participants recognized as the males did that the desire for power and control has been set up by patriarchy and his masculinity and identity as a male is directly equated with being in power and control. Though, unlike the males, the women did not view the oppression that women experience as a result of machismo as a secondary affect of this ideology,

rather, they viewed this as the primary basis for the oppression that Chicana/and Mexicana women experience.

When it comes down to it, you look at class. You look at class for incidence. You may have different men in certain economic classes and positions but in every rung in those economic levels men are dominating. If the white males are at the top they continually reinforce to the lower rungs that they should be in those positions of power. I think it just goes because of that. The message keeps getting sent out. It keeps reminding women in each of those levels that they are supposed to have a position too, and it is supposed to be behind that of a male, no matter what color, no matter whatever, they are behind a male. (College educated Chicana #4)

The female participants viewed and discussed the ideology of machismo in both terms of public and private spaces. Although the males discussed that machismo affected the private space, namely the home, this was not viewed by the males as the principle implementation or force behind the ideology. For the women, machismo was recognized as having genesis in the public sphere and yet at the same time, it's viewed as an ideology that impacts the private sphere equally if not more severely than the public sphere.

The college educated participants believed the term macho and machista are used to describe men who want to be in control and have power. There were semantic differences given to define the difference between macho and machista.

I think macho is the actual person, I believe like the actual male who is, I guess who feels the constant need to control or to be in power and I think like when you use the word machista it's like the way you are describing that one person. It's

like the adjective to describe them. Machismo is the actual ideology.

(College educated Chicana participant #4)

The college educated Chicana participants discussed the dynamics of machismo in binary terms of covert vs. overt. Covert machismo as one participant explained is that nuance that is not physically distinguishable as in the overt forms, but it exists hidden behind a code of ethics that often is used to define male gender roles. "Maybe it's not something that you see right away from a person but it is still there" (College educated Chicana participant #4). Understanding machismo in terms of overt and covert forms is another way the college educated Chicanas expressed their understanding of the power dynamics of the ideology. As one of the college educated Chicana participant explained, she felt that covert machismo exists in the lower rungs of the economic/social class hierarchy, but this form of machismo diminishes as it moves up to the higher rungs. This is not to say that machismo diminishes, or becomes less, but rather it changes forms, it becomes less recognizable because it becomes less physical and more overt.

The college educated participants discussed machismo in very different terms than their high school educated counterparts. As we can see the college educated participants understood machismo in terms of covert and overt forms that are related with class struggle and position. As this participant explained, machismo is exhibited in more overt forms at the lower rungs of the social hierarchy and becomes more covert in the upper classes.

College Educated Mexicana Participants

The college educated Mexicanas viewed the concept of being macho or machista as stereotypical labels used to define males who exerted superiority, power and control over women within the family unit. The college educated Mexicana participants felt that the terms macho and machista are terms used to describe males of the working class who usually held little formal education and who practiced machismo in terms of exhibiting physical abuse and domination over subordinate women.

Ellos piensan que ser macho muchas veces es ser violenta con la mujer, lo cual es un error. La violencia no es sinonima con la hombra. Algunas veces quieren ser dominante porque ser macho es ser dominante sobre de la mujer pero esta dominacion muchas veces va a sumirar el valor de la mujer lo cual no es hombre.

(College educated Mexicana participant #1)

The participants tended to discuss machismo in terms of power and control. They felt that more overt forms of machismo do not exist in their social rung, and thus machismo is non-existent in higher rungs of the socio-economic system. For the educated Mexicana, machismo is viewed as a stereotype or an archetype of a typical male, and such stereotypes are negative because it portrays males as violent towards women. Some participants talked about the male as a provider for the family, protector, yet this is not deemed as machismo, neither in overt or covert forms.

While the word machista was seen in more overt forms of power and thus holds negative connotations because it is often equated with domestic violence and oppression of women. The line defining the difference between the words macho/machista is blurred. Both terms seem to be equated with control, power, violence and oppression of

women and the protection of the male's hierarchical position in both the public and private sphere.

Machismo is not often recognized as being existent in the upper class/educated demographical group although it exists in covert labels such as protector, provider, breadwinner to describe the true male gender role. "Ser hombre no es dominar a la mujer es protegerla, amarla, es un hombre a proveer para su familia" (College educated Mexicana participant #1).

This group attributed the reason why men are machista/macho to a need for power and control due to the feeling of inadequacy and insecurity partly socialized by media images of male masculinity and by the male role models in the family.

Creo que la educacion viene de la casa. Y la mayoria de las veces es lo que el nino ve en casa. No creo que hay una escuela para aprender ser macho. De alli agarran la imagen de un caracter fuerte, dominante por esto son machistas. (College educated Mexicana participant #1)

In terms of how and why men become machista and how this is related to *hombria* and *machismo* these participants believed it comes primarily from socialization and their first experience with it comes from the within the home. Male role models both in the public and private sphere are recognized as key contributors to the ideology, mothers are blamed for raising their children with ideologies such as *machismo*. "La palabra machismo se le da al hombre o varon con ciertos roles de conducto que se adquieren en la familia por parte de la madre a muy temprano edad" (College educated Mexicana participant #1).

High School Educated Chicana Participants

The high school educated Mexicana participants all described machismo in terms of an ideology of power and control both inside and outside the home. "Machismo significa una persona que quiere tener control dentro y fuera de su casa" (High school educated Mexicana participant #3). Although the line between macho and machista is a fine one, the high school educated group tended to view a machista as a person who controls the lives of both his wife and close family members. "Personas que trata de controlar o dominar su pareja o familiares cercanos" (High school educated Mexicana participant #4). On the other hand, the term macho was seen as one who rather than thinks he is superior, proves his superiority by holding a superior position in the workforce. "El macho tiene la posicion mas alto y todo el poder" (High school educated Mexicana participant #1). Along with holding a superior position comes the privilege of holding power. The machista on the other hand may not hold a superior position in the job force, but he still expects to access control and power while preventing subordinate family members from holding power and control. "Machista no deja su esposa tener la libertad, el manda todo" (High school educated Mexicana participant #1).

When asked why men are machistas/machos, one participant explained that it is due to the fact that during socialization they see that patriarchy gives them the opportunity to have control and power over other people. "Empiezan cuando miran que pueden controlar a otra persona y despues terminan en maltratos o hasta golpes" (High school educated Mexicana participant # 4). The participants felt that machismo is learned during the socialization by the parents. The parents are blamed for the ideology that is being instilled in young boys. "Los padres algunas veces lo educan con una mentalidad

equivocada” (High school educated Mexicana participant #3). As one participant stated, gender roles within the ideology of machismo are learned by watching the interactions between men and women as they are growing up. “Desde nino viendo como son los padres. Viendo como son sus padres que el hombre grita y la mujer se calla” (High school educated Mexicana participant #1).

In terms of why being macho or machista is equated with being a “real man” one participant explained that patriarchy has deemed that a real man holds power and control.

Supuestamente ser macho es tener todo el poder, y un verdadero hombre segun domina sobre la mujer, tiene todo el poder. Las personas se siente hombre dominando o controlando a otras personas es la definicion del hombre.

Again, power and control is equated with the definition of true manhood. Although the participants vary on how a male comes to practice the ideology of machismo, all the participants defined machismo as power and control held by patriarchy. As we have seen, for the male participants, the access to this power and control and the way one uses it defines them in society’s eyes as a “true man.” Although the participants from the seven subgroups defined the terms macho and machista differently, they all tended to use the term machista for the more overt displays of machismo which are not accepted as part of the definition of true manhood.

Education

Research Question #2: How is educational attainment linked to attitudes about machismo?

High School Educated Chicanos and Education

The high school educated Chicanos felt that educational attainment levels had little influence over their attitudes towards machismo, but rather it was linked to society's attitudes towards working class Chicano and Mexicano males. The participants felt that often working class Chicanos and Mexicanos were unfairly stereotyped as machistas due to their lack of formal education. As one participant explained,

A lot of people tend to think I come from a very long stretch of poverty.

There were many times we didn't have money for tortillas. We were always asking for fiados so really I know what being poor is. And a lot of people tend to think that we are low, that we don't have no morals, that we are plain machistas, typical mexicano because we don't have a lot of school. They think that we have no principles, but really it isn't like that. It's we have principles, we have a lot of religious beliefs, just a lot of normal things. They do think that according to stereotypes that all Mexicans have more influence in being machistas due to the parents, los padres, los bebedores drink a lot, spend their money in certain alcohols and that's just another point of machista you may say. (High school educated Chicano participant #1)

This participant adamantly discussed how regardless of educational attainment and social class, Chicanos/Mexicanos hold a high regard for their family, and work hard to be

providers for their family while at the same time they all don't adhere to the stereotypical machista that is often associated with the less educated working class.

High School Educated Chicanas and Education

The high school educated Chicanos/a subgroups also felt that a man in particular is educated at home or taught to adhere to the rules of machismo. They articulated how machismo is an ideology that results from "la educacion de casa."

Their parents and grandparents, by their ancestors, that's how they start. That way they continue. They want to do that as they were brought up. But that's how men are. As we go in the future times change and they want to do what their parents did. (High school educated Chicana participant #3)

I think the way you're brought up respecting other people, whether they have education or not. (High school educated Chicana participant #2)

Again, the idea of educacion is what seems to be more of a determinant in the way machismo is learned and perpetuated. This same Chicana participant explained that regardless if a man is university educated, he still may exhibit machista tendencies, because he may feel he is superior because of his academic background. In her analysis, a macho is perceived as a positive attribute, and she explained that his educational attainment does not allow him the respect of a macho rather he acts as a machista, expecting respect based on his educational attainment level. "I don't think they need to be educated. School is important but sometimes they have a lot of university skills, their title, and they think they are macho." As the high school Chicana participants discussed, machismo is thought to be attributed to educacion, or socialization from home rather than

academic education. Because the participants viewed machismo as a positive ideology, they explained in their analysis, that men are brought up at home to be respectful and honorable, which the participants in this subgroup felt are traits of a macho. At the same time, they discussed how often they feel men educated in academia use their educational background to demand respect, or as one participant described, to “think they are macho.” For this subgroup, academic education had little influence over the perspectives of machismo, but rather education was linked to attitudes about machismo.

College Educated Chicanas and Education

The college educated Chicana subgroup viewed the ideology of machismo and the link to education in very different terms than the Mexican and high school educated Chicano/a subgroups. Due to the fact that the Chicana college educated subgroups were university educated, they all discussed educational attainment in terms of institutional education rather than educacion. They discussed how being within the institution forces students to be exposed to counteracting ideologies such as feminist thought. As one college educated Chicana explained, “Being more in the educational space allows them to see or meet feminists or meet women who are balanced and who have their stuff together and that don’t need to feed off of the power or authority of a man” (College educated Chicana participant #1).

Though these women discussed educacion, they discussed it in academic terms of being a type of social consciousness, which allows them within the context of academia to examine and understand the ideology of machismo. Like their high school educated Chicana counterparts and like the Mexican participants, they saw educacion as a value

system, but not one that teaches them to buy into the ideology as the other sub groups discussed, but rather one which allows them to challenge the ideology.

I think to get rid of machismo you have to develop a consciousness which takes a certain educacion. But it is not academic educacion, it's educacion of value systems of positive systems that treat women like human beings.

(College educated Chicana participant #2)

The Chicanas viewed educacion not in terms of perpetuating machismo, but rather as a tool for developing social consciousness for combating it, which is a significant variant on the way the Mexicanas and high school educated Chicanas viewed it. This particular subgroup, believed that social consciousness, more so than formal academia, empowers one with the lens to critically understand the dynamics of the ideology in order to change it. One participant discussed how her grandmother who had limited academic education, yet she had a social consciousness which allowed her an understanding as well as a progressive perspective on the ideology of machismo.

I look at my grandmother and her perceptions of it especially as a feminist.

And even though she lived a certain way, a certain time in her life she really did everything she could do to change that. So I think she has a good understanding of it. She is someone who has a sixth grade education level. I look at some of my aunts like the way they are in their families and the way they are in their relationships and some of them, you know some of them are educated women, some have college degrees and they still can't make those distinctions like

someone like my grandmother would be able to make. (College educated Chicana participant #4)

She explained that because her grandmother has a social consciousness she is able to understand the dynamics of machismo in ways that members of academia can not due to the fact that they do not hold the same educacion.

The College Educated Chicanos and Education

The Chicano college educated males were the only set of participants who did not discuss machismo in terms of educacion, whether it be social consciousness like the Chicanas discussed or socialization as the other groups described. Rather the college educated Chicano participants discussed the issue of education in terms of academia, and explained that members of academia seldom have a need for machismo because they have the self confidence that comes with the privilege of being part of academia. It is important to comment, that they did not discuss that academia gives them tools to critically analyze machismo, and or change it, but rather they discussed how academia replaces the role of machismo in the lives of more educated males. "More educated men are more likely to be self-assured based on their schooling rather than controlling women" (College educated Chicano participant #4). Education for the college educated Chicano males allows them to feel more self-confidant, and as this participant described, it replaces the need to control women in order to feel powerful. Rather, educational attainment compensates for the desire of power and control that is sought after through more overt forms of machismo. Thus, educational attainment for this subgroup is viewed as a positive way of being macho.

College Educated Mexicanas and Education

As one of the educated Mexicana participants explained, machismo is found in all class levels of society in one form or another. She discussed that although academic formal education is linked with class, a lack of academic education does not perpetuate machismo any more than a person who has had formal education due to the fact that machismo is learned through the socialization that happens at home, through education.

Con la educacion porque la mayor de las veces son personas que no tiene nivel economica para ir a la universidad o para ir al colegio, entonces va pegada, pero algunas personas con preparacion que tambien tienen ciertas patrones de conducto machista, dominante. Algunos van a ser dominante en su nivel de educacion y en otros no. La conducta es psicologico de la persona como crecio como educado.

(College educated Mexicana participant #1)

As this participant lamented, machista tendencies are depend heavily on how a person was “educated” at home. Generally, the college educated Mexicanas felt that the more education a male had, the less machismo occurred, though they were discussing machismo in overt forms of violence. More covert forms of machismo in the higher educated rungs of males exist, but it is perceived as a lesser evil by being referred to as being dominant rather than machista.

High School Educated Mexicano Males and Education

In general, this subgroup had mixed reactions about how formal academic education influences attitudes about machismo. The participants discussed the link between formal academic education and informal education in terms of how they influence attitudes

towards machismo. One of the Mexican male participants explained how educational attainment influences a person in viewing things differently than what is taught by society or by one's parents at home. Due to the belief that though informal education at home may teach or instill machismo as a code of ethics for men, academia is viewed as teaching one to view gender relations in an alternative manner. This particular participant alluded to the fact that machismo is a defense mechanism for compensating for feeling inadequate, and when one is formally educated, this only enhances one's ability to feel more empowered and superior based on academic success rather than social determined gender specific success such as being physically stronger than another male.

Con un nivel de estudio puedes mirar diferente el machismo que te enseñaron tus padres, el machismo que te enseñaron en la sociedad. Te pones a abrir tu mente.

Te piensas mas que alguien, te sientes igual si esta estudiando, te sientes igual que los demas. (High school educated Mexicano participant #2)

In contrast to this view, some of the other participants in this subgroup felt that education hasn't anything to do with changing attitudes toward machismo. For these participants, education is a tool used to advance in life, yet it doesn't affect how one acts, uses or abuses power.

No cambia nada en esto. Por que? Porque supuestamente para todo esto es el estudio, especialmente para aprender y para lograr...[El machismo] no mas es para decir bueno yo tengo la palabra, yo puedo hablar. Hablar es una cosa y pensar es otra cosa muy diferente. (High school educated Mexicano participant #1)

As this participant discussed education is not related to machismo. As the participant described one's studies are to help him/her be successful in life, while machismo for this participant, is merely exerting one's power regardless of educational attainment or position. As this participant explained, education allows one to think and achieve, while machismo, gives one words to make himself look more important than he really is.

Economics and Social Class

Research Question#3 *How are economics and social class linked to attitudes about machismo?*

The participants discussed the link between socio-economic class and machismo in terms of a struggle for power and control within the public sphere. The participants discussed how the Chicano and Mexican male's place in the workforce is often at the lower rungs of the social economic hierarchy thus they are in constant struggle to achieve a position of power and control.

College Educated Chicanas and Social Economic Class

Most of the participants discussed economics and social class in terms of hierarchical positions in which males are in constant struggle to feel superior, power and control over other men and women. They discussed structural obstacles that are in place such as racism, and classism that create and maintain struggle for men of color to adhere to the ideologies that define what it is to be a "real man". As one participant stated:

I think sometimes oppressing women could be a way to show you are at least superior to someone; if you can't do that to other men because of racism, prejudice, discrimination. When it really comes down to it, you look at class, for instance you

may have men in certain economic classes and positions but in every rung in those economic levels men are dominating... If the white males are at the top they continually reinforce to the lower rungs that they should be in those positions of power. I think it just goes because of that. The message keeps getting sent out. It keeps reminding women in each of those levels that they are supposed to have a position too and it is supposed to be behind that of a male, no matter what color, no matter whatever, they are behind a male. (College educated Chicana participant #4)

The participants also discussed that many times people in higher economic classes or more educated individuals feel that machismo disappears that it is non existent within the elite classes of the economic hierarchy. The participants argued that machismo does not disappear it just becomes more covert, shedding the more overt characteristics that may be more commonly seen in the lower social economic rungs.

It starts going up I think maybe the violence kind of diminishes and is shown in other ways. But when it really comes down to it, I think educated people think that because they are educated they can't see it then it doesn't exist. But when it really comes down to it whether you're higher class or lower class or whatever you want to say, working class, I think it exists on all levels. (College educated Chicana participant #4)

The participants in this subgroup felt that machismo is directly linked to educational attainment levels as well as social class. As we see with this participant's analysis, there is the belief that machismo becomes more covert as people become more educated and more in higher economic classes. Although they associated overt forms of machismo

with the working class, the educated Chicana participants, didn't dismiss the fact that machismo still exists among the more educated social classes and can be equally oppressive, though, it is deployed in more covert manners.

High School Educated Chicanas and Social Economic Class

This subgroup felt that machismo is definitely influenced by class and economics. They perceived machismo as being a belief system mainly found in the poor working class segment, and they felt that there is correlation between a lack of education, lower socioeconomics and machismo. This particular subgroup emulated the example given by the participant from the college educated group when she explained that often individuals from the higher economic rungs often feel machismo is a class based ideology. As one participant explained, she felt her education and social economic status has allowed her to avoid living the reality of machismo. She felt machismo does not exist because her education attainment has afforded her a higher social economic status.

Economic and social class? I think so. I am not like that first of all because I am educated. I am educated and I think different you know? And I guess that did it, my education, I know better. (High school educated Chicana participant #3)

Although this group attributed machismo to lower socio-economics, there was also an alternative viewpoint offered, comparing blue collar work to white collar work. Rather than discussing machismo in terms of oppression towards women, machismo was discussed in terms of economic struggle due to the type of work a male did. The more physically challenging the job is, the more "macho" the male is perceived. In the

following example, machismo is offered as a positive attribute, yet one which is found only among working class males.

They think they're more macho because they work harder. Yeah because they work harder for the money, they work out in the sun. They [blue collar worker] don't think they [white collar workers] are man enough because they work in the office. They are not macho enough to go outside and work. (High school educated Chicana participant #2)

Among the high school educated participants, the belief that overt forms of machismo are often associated with the working class. Among the participants in this subgroup, the overt characteristics of machismo are often labeled as machista, while hard working labor workers are viewed as "macho" holding a more positive connotation. For some of the participants in this subgroup, academic education does not deem a man more macho because it is associated with a less rigorous work environment.

College Educated Chicanos and Social Economic Class

These participants were divided on this question. Some felt that socio-economics had little or no influence on machismo that it existed across class lines. Others felt that society uses social and economic class to create norms to judge them according to preconceived guidelines. "All societies judge us if macho, how we treat women, family no matter what economic or social class." (College educated Chicano participant #2) The participants felt that on some level economics and social class has an influence on the attitudes of machismo. Men feel that within their stratus of the social hierarchy, society is watching men and judging them in terms of their control and power over women. One

participant felt that this influence revolves around the hierarchy set up by patriarchy. "It's White men and it revolves around all that. Even then White men or Black men, Mexican men, it goes back to men" (College educated Chicano participant #3). Some of the other participants in this subgroup discussed how the higher economic rung a man holds, the less apt he is to turn to machismo for control because he earns control and power by holding that higher economic position. "The more money you have the more likely you are to be in control and you then you don't need machismo" (College educated Chicano participant #4). As this participant explained, monetary rewards earned in the workplace, are associated with power and control. This participant explained to us, that if you have power and control, machismo is no longer necessary. Through this participant's analysis, we can see that the participants viewed machismo as a response to the lack of power and control.

High School Educated Chicanos and Social Economic Class

The participants in this subgroup felt that machismo is relegated to the lower rungs of the socio-economic hierarchy. The participants felt that because they are not part of these social classes that machismo is non-existent in their reality. The participants as a whole gave very little analysis of how or why social and economic class status affects attitudes towards machismo, though as an observer I saw that the participants who hold higher economic status tend to view machismo as an anomaly found in the lower rungs.

Like the Chicana participants, the high school educated Chicano participants viewed machismo as being associated with the working class. The participants in this subgroup who considered themselves middle class, made a point that the machismo is not part of

their class, although they see examples of these attitudes among people they associate with from the class.

High School Educated Mexicanos and Social Economic Class

In interviewing this subgroup, I found that attitude about machismo were directly related to this groups social and economic class status. The participants discussed in depth how working in the fields causes stress and struggle that is compensated for by acting machista in the household.

Un cargado, un mayordomo, ya que tiene un puesto, no quiere que nadie lo quite.

Y quiere a estar haciendo el machismo para tener este poder. Simplemente porque tiene un stres en el trabajo en la casa trata de salir de este stres. (High school educated Mexicano participant #2)

One participant discussed a struggle for a position that would have normally been held by a Chicano. Through this retelling, this participant explained how the Chicano male holds a higher stratification than that of the Mexicano and in turn this creates struggle between the Chicano male and the Mexicano male as they compete for the same social and economic status.

La verdad que si, con un Chicano, pues nunca he trabajado con un Chicano pero imagino de lo que he visto. Pues imagino que es muy diferente a trabajar con un Chicano que con un Mexicano. Por que? Porque supuestamente si el Mexicano es, si lo que quiere es agarrar el puesto, es muy tranquilo, ya que agarra todo el puesto. Ya que esta bien en el estado, entonces cambia y ya quiere mandar toda la gente. (High school educated Mexicano participant #2)

As this participant explained, Mexicanos are stratified economically below the Chicano, and there exists a power struggle among the Mexicano and Chicano, for a higher economic position within the work place. The participant explained that once a Mexicano earns that higher position, he exhibits power and control over other people, which is viewed as machismo. At the same time, the participant explained that the pressure caused by economic struggle creates machismo.

College Educated Mexicanas and Social Economic Class

The majority of the educated female Mexicana participants came from middle and upper middle classes. This demographic group felt that machismo is found in all economic classes, but attitudes towards machismo are not influenced by economic and social status, but rather by socialization at home.

Con la educacion porque la mayor de las veces son personas que no tiene nivel economica par air a la universidad para ir al colegio, entonces va pegada, pero no creo que es determinante el nivel social o educativo para ser machista. (College educated Mexicana participant #1)

The participants surveyed from this group felt that educacion de casa rather than formal education and economics is the determinant of machismo. In terms of economics, one participant who was educated but living in the working class rung, offered the analysis that machismo manifests itself in terms of men controlling money within the private space. "Pienso que el machismo existe en todas clases sociales. Pero economicamente un machista controla por medio del dinero" (College educated

Mexicana participant #1). The concept of controlling money, crosses all economic social rungs, thus machismo is viewed as being unrelated to social economic status.

High School Educated Mexicanas and Social Economic Class

The majority of the participants from this subgroup like their college educated counterparts felt that machismo is not linked to social economic class. They find that machismo exists across all economic classes. One participant discussed machismo in terms of a struggle that males face in the workplace, and the struggle to hold position of power and control in their given economic rung is so stressful and overwhelming that this struggle is brought home.

A veces los mismos streses del trabajo hace el hombre mas frustrado y se quita su frustracion en la casa. Tambien cuando se agarra una posicion mas alto, empieza a creer tanto, y se porta todo poderoso en la casa tambien. Se nota con el mas poder en el trabajo el mas que se pone porque no quiere perder este poder. (High school educated Mexicana participant # 1)

As this participant explained, attitudes of machismo are affected by struggles that occur in the workforce, but are not relegated to one particular economic or social class. The participant felt that machismo manifests out of both the frustration from struggling for a position of power and control as well as from the feeling of superiority once they have gained that position. The participants felt that regardless of the position held in the workforce, machismo is attributed to the struggle associated with that position and it eventually transcends into the home.

Acculturation and Assimilation

Research Question #4: *Do acculturation or assimilation influence perceptions on machismo?*

College Educated Chicano and Assimilation

When interviewing the participants about the theory that machismo may change as it crosses borders and becomes more “Americanized,” the male participants regardless of social economic status felt that acculturation/assimilation had little or nothing to do with machismo. They discussed machismo as being an ideology of patriarchy which exists internationally in all patriarchal societies. The males surveyed agreed that the change if any is slow, and because patriarchal privilege is existent internationally they felt what changes in terms of the “Americanization” process is the change in the way machismo is articulated, rather than in the actual way in which machismo is put into practice. The Spanish label for masculinity and domination of power and control by males has been adapted through acculturation into American culture. One of the participants commented, that through the adoption of the Spanish word macho, there exists a connotation that power and control related to masculinity is only a Latino tendency rather than a global patriarchal tendency. “It’s interesting how the White man uses ‘macho man’ and not the term chauvinism man. Macho man seems to be catchier” (College educated Chicano participant #1). As this participant discussed, the use of “macho man” holds a connotation that chauvinism, or male dominance of control and power is a tendency of Latino males, particularly less assimilated ones, when in reality it is very similar to what White feminists refer to as male chauvinism. As college educated participant # 4

explained, "all that happens is people stop calling it machismo and find a different name. Plenty of Americanized people buy into the gender role."

In terms of the participant's personal attitudes, acculturation has influenced their perceptions of machismo on some levels. They seem to be conscious of gender issues, and the oppression of women by patriarchy which are viewpoints brought forth by the White American feminist movement. Although they are aware of these issues, and they may disagree with machismo on some level, as males they do not fully support the American ideology of women being treated as equals to men. As one participant explained the Americanization process pushes them to reevaluate some of their practices, but not necessarily abandon them completely. "I think there is a notion that American women have more liberties than other women. Hence moving towards an Americanization process would move one to reconsider macho tendencies."

High School Educated Chicanos and Assimilation

The high school educated Chicanos, like their college educated counterparts felt that assimilation has little effect on the way machismo is practiced and or changed. Like the college educated subgroup they felt machismo goes under slow change, and they recognize the way in which machismo affects women. These participants openly discussed their unwillingness to relinquish power and control that they gain under machismo or patriarchal privilege. As one participant explained,

You know it is our nature. We like to have our woman there when we come home tired(...) It is unfair but, the man hasn't gotten used to the fact that the woman has that much to do. You know we understand but we just not used to that yet.

(High school educated Chicano participant # 1)

For the participants in this subgroup, machismo goes under slow change as men assimilate. As this participant discussed, men recognize that machismo is oppressive to women, yet due to the struggles in the workplace, they are unwilling to assimilate into the more egalitarian ideology of the Anglo family.

High School Educated Chicanas and Assimilation

Unlike the male participants, the female participants discussed the transformation that machismo goes through in terms of feminist ideologies that are in place in the United States in conjunction with laws and obstacles found in the United States that force males to assimilate to American culture in terms of gender relations in order to survive and be successful in the United States. Both college educated and high school educated women understood that gender relations are very different in the United States than in Mexico. They believed that in the U.S, White women particularly hold more power than women do in Mexico. The participants discussed the laws that are in place to protect women's rights against domestic abuse, sexual harassment and discrimination based on their gender and or sex, which are not always in place in Mexico.

I have a cousin who is exactly what you are describing(...).When he came he was really like he is from el Norte de Monterrey. And he was like machista, always his way or nothing. And now he got married three years ago and its reverse. She's the boss. I think he is scared of someone from the United States. They always say Mexican women from Mexico are different from here because I think that here we have rights. They're stuck they hit you and all the cops have to do is see proof and

they're taken away. Over there they just don't look into that thing. (High school educated Chicana participant #2)

The participants felt that machismo is not necessarily influenced by American liberalism, but rather laws that dictate American way of life. The assimilation into American culture and the shift in gender role perspectives from those perspectives learned in Mexico comes about as a result of a forced assimilation by the implementation of laws.

When a guy or a person comes from Mexico, they have their own way of thinking because that is the way the majority of the people think. Then they come here to the United States and with time they get more Americanized. And some get more educated and that they work and as they get more Americanized, some how they start thinking about the way of life here in the United States the way people here see it. (High school educated Chicana participant #2)

College Educated Chicanas and Assimilation

The college educated Chicana participants examined this question through a gendered lens and felt that machismo does change and become more covert as people assimilate into American culture. The female participants articulated the phenomenon of machismo in terms of assimilation in terms of the value system placed on being more American, and the social status of women in the U.S vs. Mexico. The participants felt that with assimilation, comes the act of Americanization, and that being more American, which in simpler terms represents conforming to the culture and attitudes set by White America, and holds privileges that as an immigrant one does not necessarily hold. In a sense, they

are expressing that there is a value placed on being American, and along with that identity one holds a certain amount of power that he/she would not hold as being a “marginalized other.”

There is a value system attached to being Americanized, and so that means they don't have to be machista. They don't need to be associated with being machista because they don't need to take it. They don't need the symptoms of machismo you know. (College educated Chicana participant #2)

As this participant discussed machismo becomes more covert and more integrated into society where it often comes undetectable.

It exists in more covert ways. I think it exists at all levels, at all economic classes. I just think that sometimes people at higher classes get maybe caught up and kind of ignore the signs. I think it's the same thing with racism. I think like in the past it was horrible and you had to live things not to say that there still aren't and so a lot of people think, they it's better now in this day and age. I guess if you are in a different economic class if you are in a higher economic class then you think well I've achieved this level of success and so racism isn't existing. (College educated Chicana participant #4)

The participants in this particular subgroup also discussed assimilation in terms of the empowerment of the Chicana woman vs. the Mexicana. Assimilation into American society also affords a sense of empowerment, and agency that the less assimilated Mexicana may not acquire until she is more assimilated. The participants discussed how assimilation not only eliminates the need for overt forms of machismo but it also allows

women to hold a position in society where they are more empowered and capable of challenging the oppression associated with attitudes towards machismo.

Being Americanized means having power and control and superiority also in your life, desarrollo right, development. Even a woman right like they don't, they start challenging I guess. I also can have my piece of pie of power. I don't need to associate with a man in order to have power. I don't need to succumb you know to be subservient, I don't need to get married, I don't need to follow the guy's rules like my mom did. (College educated Chicana participant #2)

The participants continued to discuss the assimilation that men experience and the transformation of machismo into a more covert, less physically violent form. As women become more Americanized, they become more knowledgeable about the support systems in place to protect women from domestic violence. This empowers them so that they can hold a place in the social-economic hierarchy, although it is a place below a man, because regardless of the male's social class or race, he always holds power over women.

If the White males are at the top then they continually reinforce to the lower rungs that they should be in those positions of power. The message keeps just getting sent out, it keeps reminding women in each of those levels that they are supposed to have a position, and that position is supposed to be behind that of a male no matter what the color. (College educated Chicana participant #4)

As we see, the participants discussed assimilation in terms of issues of race, class and gender. The participants discussed the link between assimilation and machismo, in terms

of the power struggle between white patriarchy and men of color. The feelings expressed by the participants is that the more assimilated the Chicano/Mexicano becomes, the more covert machismo becomes, which inevitably continues to oppress women, even though the characteristics are less overt.

College Educated Mexicanas and Assimilation

The participants in this subgroup gave very limited responses to this question, indicating that the possibility exists that assimilation is not seen as a principle variable in the way which machismo is implemented in the United States. The college educated Mexicanas felt that assimilation has little influence on perceptions of machismo. They felt that since machismo is a result of socialization, that assimilation did not contribute to the changes in attitudes towards machismo. "Es difícil con una persona adulta a cambiar su patron de conducto creo. No creo que se se cambia su manera de actuar despues de vivir aqui" (College educated Mexicana participant #1). As one participant explained, the change in attitude is derived from socialization rather than assimilation. The participant felt that if one socializes among non assimilated or non American peers, one's ideology is not influenced or changed. This participant expressed that the socialization with more assimilated people can influence one's attitudes towards machismo.

Yo creo que depende de la gente que con se junta. Se juntan con el mismo grupo de personas no van a cambiar. Pero si juntan con gente que piensan diferente pueden cambiar poquito. (College educated Mexicana participant #2)

As the participant explained, the interaction with people who share opposing viewpoints may influence machismo, but as she stated the change is very small. This

participant believed that socialization with peers outside the home has an influence on one's attitudes toward machismo.

High School Educated Mexicanas and Assimilation

The high school educated Mexicanas discussed the assimilation factor in terms of women changing their attitudes towards more American ones. Women in the U.S are seen as empowered because they have social capital in the forms of pro-feminist organizations that help empower and educate women. These resources serve as a way to fight against machismo, and change or lessen the effect machismo has on women.

Aqui hay mucha ayuda para las mujeres. Aqui hay leyes a proteger las mujeres, y los hombres tienen que cambiar porque las mujeres tienen derechos aqui. Tambien los niños se van a la escuela, aprenden la vida de la familia, y que el machismo no está bien. Ellos empiezan a ser rebeldes contra el machismo y el papa. (High school educated Chicana participant #1)

Assimilation seems to affect women and children more as they are introduced to new ideologies and resources. Women in the U.S become empowered by the resources and laws which in turn they use to rebel against machismo.

High School Educated Mexicanos and Assimilation

This subgroup felt that Americanization did not play a role on the influence of machismo. The participants discussed the concept that machismo is not a Latino phenomenon but a practice of patriarchy that all races of men around the world practice. As one participant explained,

Los gabachos son iguales, los gabachos tienen su manera no son mejores que los

Mexicanos o los Latinos o Hispanos. Que pasa con los Arabes? No son Hispanos pero son mas machistas. Si Americanizan, pero es la misma chingadera. (High school educated Mexicano participant #1)

As this participant explained, regardless of ethnicity, machismo is practiced globally, and although Latino men will Americanize, the ideology is still the same due to the fact that it is not seen as only a Mexican belief system, but a global one.

Power and Control in the Public Sphere

Research Question #5: Does Capitalism perpetuate machismo? Does this affect men and women differently? If so how?

College Educated Chicanas and Power and Control in the Public Sphere

The female participants in general found this question very difficult to answer but, like the males, they recognized that capitalism is the core institution that perpetuates machismo in both spaces. The women discussed how men are disenfranchised in the public sphere, and often are unable to obtain the power and control that the social system in the public sphere has deemed a necessary component of masculinity. In contrast to the male's analysis, the women discussed in depth the power dynamics that occur in the private sphere with an emphasis on male privilege that occurs in the public sphere. They discussed the struggle for privileges held by white patriarchy, and patriarchal rights to have power and control as a man, while excluding women from those same rights.

College educated Chicana participant #4 very eloquently correlated her understanding of

male privilege and capitalism with a quote from Cherrie Moraga's *The Last Generation Prose and Poetry*.

I always think of in Cherrie Moraga's book *The Last Generation Prose and Poetry* talks about the civil right's movement. She talks about how she saw an African American man holding a sign that said at one of the rallies that said, "I am a man." Like it's basically like he's claiming his right to have those privileges to have those privileges as a man, not to have those privileges as a human. I guess in those terms you would look at patriarchy because he is saying I am a man. I deserve to be dominant, and I deserve to have power.

This participant further discussed how the concept of the males' class based struggle for success in the public sphere as being equated with manhood and masculinity.

I think that well, I think people in general are constantly (or those who aren't), are completely and totally struggling to survive. I think there is a constant need to be successful for everyone and everyone wants to be successful. And climbing the economic ladder I think for a lot of those men if they make it to that next economic bracket you know the higher one, that makes them, it gives them so much more privilege because they're not just, they're not just dealing with those women and everyone else in that lowest bracket that they were in. But they're in a whole new ball game where I guess they have more power. All those men, you have all those women and children who are in their economic bracket and then you have the one that you came from. So I think it becomes even as far as machismo

goes, I think it becomes even more like a necessity for them. (College educated Chicana participant #4)

The participant discussed how the concept of being a “man” not just a human, but a “man” is equated with the privilege of accessing power and control. This participant explained how men, in particular men of color struggle in the public sphere to gain the privileges of being a “man” and find themselves in a situation where they are engaged in struggle with men in the higher rungs that hold power and control over them, while they experience the opportunity to hold power and control over the women in the lower rungs under them.

Another participant discussed this same struggle to be successful in terms of a man’s ability to provide for the family, while negotiating the power inequalities that men are confronted with in the public arena.

Men have to deal with power trips in the job, to be trying to be social brokers for themselves, men and women. In society I think that’s one of the struggles so many people try to do better than you, and have power trips over you, authority over you to let you know you are a step down. (College educated Chicana participant #2)

In response to the second half of the research question concerning the effects machismo perpetuated by capitalism has on women and men, the college educated participants give in depth analysis of how the struggle from the public space is recreated in the private space where women now engage in struggle for egalitarianism and power with men.

You bring it [machismo] home you know I think the home is one of the places

where it manifests itself more so. Just how society is a struggle some how you need to find something to treat less than you. You know for whatever reason, people have to be in a hierarchy and the things that makes it kind of sets up the woman to be like the thumb and it allows the men to use the machismo as an excuse. (College educated Chicana participant #2)

This participant discussed how machismo is transcended into the private sphere and manifests itself to control women, by emulating the power struggle that exists for men in the public sphere. This participant discussed that in the workforce Chicanos and Mexicanos are being treated lesser because of their color, and face obstacle that prevent them from breaking class barriers and stratifying to higher economic rungs. They find the struggle for success intensified because of racism and this intensified struggle then manifests through machismo in the private sphere.

Again, it goes back to that they go into spaces where they are treated lesser because they are brown... and naturally what do people learn? They learn how to hate back. And they hate back on what has been the few less than them, and that's the woman. And when it's on their own community, it's the Chicana woman, the poor woman at that. They exercise the same hate I guess, unfortunately, copying the same values. (College educated Chicana participant #2)

The participants discussed this power struggle that begins in the public sphere and is brought into the private sphere as affecting them as women greatly both on overt and covert levels. The participants discussed the need to fight against the oppression that is experienced as a result of machismo. The realization that there is oppression of women

on all levels is discussed as machismo and is practiced in the home through overt forms such as sexist values and non egalitarian gender roles placed on family members.

You look at my house my living room particularly; it's all the guy's clothes all around, I picked up everything. They were on the floor, on the sofa, over there, over here, my brother's stuff were on the couches... I'm like, "their your kids mom, you have to be like the authority here and you're not doing it." I'm not going to be the parent. I'm sorry. Mom says, "pues yo les digo a todos." "No you don't, you don't tell them nothing." (College educated Chicana participant #2)

The participant discussed how as a woman holding a lower position in the domestic hierarchy she looks to her mother to take authority, to claim agency with in the private space. From the description the participant gave, we see that the females struggle for voice within the family space, and the struggle to even hold power and authority over subordinate males continually exists due to a system set up by machismo that somehow privileges all the males within its structure. As a result, this participant constantly struggles for voice for both her and her mother, as a result of the privilege held by the males in the home.

College Educated Mexicanas and Power and Control in the Public Sphere

The educated Mexicanas also discussed the power struggles caused by patriarchy through machismo but in more covert examples. This particular group, unlike in the college educated Chicana counterpart, did not focus on patriarchal power transcending from the outside into the private sphere, but rather they discussed the covert power struggles that occur within the domestic sphere. Though it was not directly discussed

why they concentrated their analysis on the private sphere, it is possible that since most of these women have not worked outside of the home, they have not formally participated in the public sphere and are not privy to the inner workings and hierarchical structures that oppress both females and males. The women understood machismo in terms of a segmented system within the private sphere where women are allowed to only achieve up to a certain level, and then they hit a ceiling, as men of color do in the public sphere. These “glass ceilings” keep women oppressed by limiting the amount of power and control they have within the family structure.

Un hombre machista que es machista no te deja ser mas que lo que tu quieres hacer. Tu quieres seguir estudiando el hombre va a decirte que no. No, no puedes progresar. Te deja a llegar a un limite, este limite no puedes pasar. Si tu pasas este limite, esto es cuando empiezan los problemas y va a pasar a otro nivel... nunca van a dejar que tu vas a ser mas que ellos. (College educated Mexicana participant #2)

The participants in this subgroup discussed that although in the public sphere they might work just as hard as the male, and earn a comparable income, the male will continue to oppress woman in order to feel superior. At the same time there is a doubt in the women’s mind that what is occurring is machismo. Although they felt that there is this struggle for power, it often does not fit their definition of machismo, which they understand in overt terms. An example of this doubt is expressed by a college educated Mexicana participant as she articulated the struggle between men and women for power and control.

No se si es **exactamente** machismo. Pero si siempre el hombre aunque que hagan

el mismo que hacen ellos. Ellos piensan que esta haciendo mas que uno. Aunque que trabaja menos o aunque hagamos el mismo ellos siempre quieren sentir superior. (College educated Mexicana participant #2)

The High School Educated Chicanas and Power and Control in the Public Sphere

The high school educated Chicanas also examined how this has a dual effect on both men and women in the home. The participants discussed issues of power both in the public sector where capitalism begins and the residual effects that enter the private sphere where women are directly affected. The participants discussed capitalism in terms of struggles as immigrant men and as people of color who are stratified at lower rungs and are constantly struggling to gain a position of respect and power. In terms of the immigrant men, they felt that Mexicanos were constantly disempowered by the laws set forth in this country. One participant discussed how coming to the U.S is very different than living in Mexico, where the Mexican in some context is a patriarch and holds a position of control and power, although he may be working class. The U.S laws are set up to disempower the immigrant and they felt machismo is perpetuated because there is this desire to hang on to the control and power they once had. "I think they still want to have that control. Here they are stopped by the law." (High school educated Chicana #2)

As another high school educated Chicana participant stated, machismo is perpetuated by "The need of feeling powerful and maybe that is a way of defending themselves, and they react that way to make themselves feel powerful." What the participants then discussed is that although Chicanos or Mexicanos may hold lower level positions of power as

supervisors or foremen, there still exists the need to exert power and control in the private sector. It is in the private sphere that the women begin to feel the negative effects of this quest for power and control.

In the work place they feel that they need to be that way [machista] just to make them feel more powerful. Once again it is a power thing, it is a power issue, they want to make themselves look like they are in control. You know if they are in control they want to control [at home]. (High school educated Chicana participant #2)

The participants discussed how the need for power and control does not only exist in the public sphere but the need to maintain power and control is brought home in the form of machismo.

The High School Educated Mexicanas and Power and Control in the Public Sphere

The questions put forth to the participants about what obstacles perpetuate machismo and how that affects men and women differently was very difficult for these participants to answer. This question caused them to critically analyze what the male experience was in terms of the work place and how those conflicts and struggles both directly and indirectly affect the women's lives. Most of the participants felt that the Mexican male struggles in the workplace for control. They further discussed how the frustration for control then is brought into the home, and there exists the fear by the males that because they are unsuccessful in the workplace, they may not have control in the home.

Los hombres estan frustrados tratando de mantener control de la familia. A veces la mas alta la posicion, se siente mas poder, y se pone macho para presumir al patron.

Tambien a veces cuando no tiene mucho respeto o no gana mucho dinero en el trabajo, se siente frustrado y esta frustracion se quita en la casa y se pone machista.

(High school educated Mexicana participant #1)

As the participant discussed the struggle that men engage in the public sphere to achieve power and control in the workforce often is brought into the private sphere. The participant discussed that a male's frustration of not being able to achieve a position of power and control at work is often brought home and as a result, women become less empowered and or experience oppression by the male.

La mujer se queda abajo, no tiene una palabra o nada. Tiene miedo de defender si misma, no tiene ninguna autoestima, si se siente capaz de ser humana. Yo pienso que si porque el hombre machista entre mas trabaja, mas mal trata a la mujer haciendole sentir que vale nada. (High school educated Mexicana participant #1)

One participant explained that there exists a ripple effect of disempowerment beginning with the males in the workforce and ending in the home which creates a situation where women begin to feel not only oppressed, but as one participant explained, they begin to feel like they are being controlled like a puppet. "El machismo a la mujer, es demasiado la hacen sentir que es como una marioneta sin voz, o sea sin opinion propia" (High school educated Mexicana participant #2).

The College Educated Chicanos and Power and Control in the Public Sphere

Power, economics, male and female that's what you can boil it down to. The control of power and human resources you know, by the White man.

(College educated Chicano participant #1)

This quote from one of the participants explained the analysis of the Chicano college educated male. They described machismo as a struggle created by White patriarchy within the context of capitalism where the result is to control both people and resources. The people that they control ultimately are women. The participants felt that Chicanos and Mexicanos are disempowered in the public sphere in terms of capitalism. The participants felt that Chicanos and Mexicanos struggle in an internal colonial structure in which they are the resources being competed for by the White man to produce goods and services.

For the Chicano or Mexicano the workforce is economic slavery which contributes to machismo. In capitalism more than half the population is exploited whether we are aware of it or not. (College educated Chicano participant #1)

The participants discussed that the struggles that are created by capitalism forces males to develop a defense mechanism to help them not only survive, but negotiate between the public space and private.

I think that the more struggles such as, discrimination and exploitation, one has to experience the tougher one has to become. I think that a level of toughness is associated with machismo, hence it is perpetuated. Although my family and I have struggled, I have had to develop a level of toughness I try to use that to help me navigate the public spaces but maintain away from my family private spaces.

(College educated Chicano participant #3)

The participants discussed how patriarchy has set up a system in which men are fighting for power and which results in men of color facing oppression in the public

sphere. "The way the U.S. does this is that men can always be in charge and always be right no matter what.. This will cause exploitation of both men and women" (College educated Chicano participant #2).

The analysis given by these participants is very powerful and shows how capitalism creates a struggle for power and control which men feel they need to use machismo as a mechanism to survive. At the same time, the participants recognized how this struggle oppresses both men and women, especially when machismo is brought into the home facing it both in the public and then again in the private, as the struggle for power by the men in the form of machismo is brought home.

The High School Educated Chicanos and Power and Control in the Public Sphere

The participants in this subgroup discussed how capitalism creates struggle among men who are competing among one another for a higher position in the workforce.

A hombre, he works very hard for what he wants, right? A lot of times you know there are problems due to jealousy in the workplace, somebody has a better job than you. And you try but you are always brought down on many occasions, that does happen and sometimes does predict conflicts among co-workers. (High school educated Chicano participant #1)

According to the male participants, it's the act of being macho, or machista, the act of masculinity, which is equated with strength and respect that allows the male to win the power struggle for success.

A machista always tends to have a better job than anybody, he will always try to have a better job than like they say the white guy. We always have that eagerness

that goal to be number one, to be respected. (High school educated Chicano participant #1)

This Participant adamantly felt that the feminist ideology further creates struggle in a capitalist society. He explained that men struggle constantly due to the workforce structures and he finds the feminist movement adds to these struggles by challenging the machista ideology.

When I see a woman who that's being feminista to a certain point it makes me mad it really does. You know certain feminist women that I may call extreme which thinks the man is nothing, foolish you know, does make the man to be a little more machista. Oh yeah really think you don't need me we'll see later on. 'Cause' like I was saying the woman does need the man because the man will always have a more stronger mentality, more stronger will. They can not have a machista and feminist movement together from a certain point of view. (High school educated Chicano participant #1)

The High School Educated Mexicanos and Power and Control in the Public Sphere

The Mexican participants discussed in depth the racial struggle for class position and jobs creates struggles for power and control that often is unattainable because they are stratified not necessarily as men, but often as property labeled as "cheap labor." Mexican immigrants often when they first arrive in the United States are stratified at the lower end of the economic hierarchy as exploited cheap labor and they suffer from racism even from Chicanos or other "minority" groups because they are seen as scabs who come into

the economic system and work for less money, thus contributing to the struggle for power at the lower economic rungs.

La prescion, el stress, como una persona el otro dia, borracho sin trabajo me dijo por los "wet backs" no tiene trabajo, pero el no esta trabajando por huevon. El esta diciendo que el es machista que el estaba nacido aqui es machista como nosotros. Nosotros estamos trabajando y el no. El esta diciendo que nosotros robamos el trabajo. (High school educated Mexicano #2)

This participant depicted the struggle for power that happens on both a racial and class level. As the participant discussed he is challenged as being in an economic position higher than the unemployed individual based on the fact that he "stole" the job from an American born person. The participant explained that because he holds a position above the unemployed male he is therefore more powerful, or holds some type of power or control as measured by machismo. This was indicated when he explained that he is "machista," but the American born male, expected the privilege of being "machista" based on the fact that he was born here, which holds privilege.

Distribution of Power in the Family Structure

Research Question # 6: How do the perceptions of machismo influence behaviors of Chicano/as and Mexicano/as and the distribution of power within the family

The High School Educated Chicano and the Distribution of Power and Control within the Family Structure

The high school educated Chicano males perceive machismo in the family structure as oppressing women and subordinate family members physically as well as mentally. The

participants in this group recognized that there exists unequal distributions of power and control but felt this is justified due to perceived cultural traditions that deem the male as the superior figure within the family structure and the woman in an auxiliary role, which does not hold as much power as the patriarch. The participants discussed that because men turn to machismo in the private sphere to compensate for the power and control that they are denied in the public sphere, women are often oppressed, which often results in physical violence against women.

Well, it [machismo] impacts the woman in general but sometimes the kid.

Sometimes it is for the kid or the child because many times there are parents or fathers that are very machista to the point that they hurt the wives physically, mentally and the kids grow up seeing that and they tend to think whoa I guess that's how it should be. You know, they don't see nothing else. They just see that so that's pretty much the only knowledge they have, you know being a father figure. (High school educated Chicano participant #1)

The participants also discussed that within the family structure there exists a power struggle between men and women. The participants explained that there is a fear that if they share the power equally, they will be at risk of being dominated by their partner and ultimately lose the control they are working so hard to keep.

She is a very, very major part of a man's life you know? Sadly, it seems we don't appreciate it by the way we act sometimes. Our mentality is I am not going to let you dominate me. I am not going to let you control the life I am working hard for or certain things like that. We have a fear that they might just take that and extend

it. (High school educated Chicano participant #1)

As this participant discussed, the fear of losing power in the home creates a struggle between men and women within the private sphere. As this participant expressed, there is a fear that the woman will take away the power and control that he has struggled in the public sphere to gain. The fear of losing this power and control allows machismo to manifest in the home and create a power struggle between the male and female members. This participant adamantly stated that he believed that a successful relationship within the family structure needs to have some machismo in it. "I would always believe and I will always think there needs to be some machismo in a relationship, some control" (High school educated Chicano Participant #1). The participant felt that control is essential to a relationship. Although in this example he is referring to the control held by a male in the family, not by a female. As illustrated here, machismo represents control by men within the private sphere, and an unequal distribution of power and control for women.

The College Educated Chicano and the Distribution of Power and Control within the Family Structure

The college educated Chicano male participants discussed the distribution of power within the family structure in relation to machismo as a response to white patriarchy. The college educated Chicanos discussed how men are in a constant struggle for power and control and that within the family structure there exists a hierarchy that oppresses women as a safeguard from keeping her from accessing the power and control that the male is able to hold in the private sphere. As one participant explained,

In cases where machismo is present and practiced, considering there are degrees/levels of machismo. To that extent women are assigned a level or status

below the male. (College educated Chicano participant #3)

The college educated Chicano males also discussed overt machismo in the family structure in terms of physical violence towards women, rather than the inferred violence that they discussed when talking about the importance of the role of provider and protector. They discussed that often overt forms of machismo, such as physical force is a response to the oppression created by capitalism, where men of color are disempowered because of racism. As college educated Chicano participant #1 stated,

What does a woman of color do? She goes to being the whipping post of a man of color who is the whipping post of a White guy. Even to a degree the White woman suffers not to the extent as her counterpart but yet again you know it comes back to men.

As we see the participants felt there is a link between the oppression of men of color in the public sphere with the oppression of women of color and even to an extent, women in general in the family structure.

The High School Educated Mexicano and the Distribution of Power and Control within the Family Structure

The participants discussed that in terms of women's roles, many women become victims of domestic violence due to the combination of machismo that has taken place in the home and the pressures that are suffered in the workplace.

Mas estres a las mujeres. Traumas, traumas psicologicas, si tiene alguien que la golpea, sigue pensando que todas las personas van a hacer igual. Siempre va a ser ella a la defensiva porque la mujer va a pensar que esta en peligro que la golpean. (High school educated Mexicano participant #1)

In terms of the way in which machismo directly affects the distribution of power and control between the male and female gender role, the participants describe machismo as a weapon that is used when they feel they need to defend their position within the home, or their access to control. According to this participant the woman is seen as the instigator of machismo within the home. If it is felt by the male that she is "overstepping" her bounds, the male is in his right to use machismo to regain his power and control.

La unica realmente depende que se lleva con el. Supuestamente se lleva mal entonces supuestamente tiene que defender. Y el tiene que sacar el machismo igual. Igual que uno si la mujer es asi uno tambien tiene que depende de lo que dijo, existe el dialogo primero. Supuestamente, al ultimo va a llegar a otros extremos. (High school educated Mexicano participant #2)

As the participant explained, the male's position in the home dictates that he has the last word, or inevitably control over his wife and family. Although the participant discussed the importance of conversation between the male and female, he also explained that the machismo is a tool or mechanism used to allow him to have the upper hand in the conversation. As he explained, machismo has to be used to defend himself. As in the public sphere, this participant expressed the need to defend his position of authority in the private sphere with the use of machismo.

The High School Educated Mexicanas and the Distribution of Power and Control within the Family Structure

The high school educated Mexican female participants discussed the distribution of power and control within the family structure as a dehumanizing experience. They discussed how machismo in the private sphere creates a situation where women live in

fear of their husbands. They discussed being afraid of disagreeing with him, or pursuing their own goals.

Nos afecto muy feo. Que no tenia libertad ni de ir a la escuela. Tenia miedo de mi esposo. Tenia miedo de no estar de acuerdo con el. Estaba muy cerrada de la cabeza porque nunca me permitio salir. (High school educated Mexicana participant #1)

The participants discussed that machismo within the home, is not limited to husband/wife relationships, but women experience the effects of machismo from their fathers, as they are growing up.

El machismo siempre ha estado presente en mi vida. Primero mi padre con madre, mi primer esposo, e igual con mi actual esposo y es si me ha afectado demasiado. (High school educated Mexicana participant #2)

The women in this subgroup felt that machismo disempowers women to the point that they feel that they do not have any self worth or ability to contribute to the greater society outside the home.

El machismo afecta a la mujer de una manera espantosa haciendola sentir que no vale nada que solo sirve para hacer comida y cuidar ninos. (High school educated Mexicana participant #2)

The High School Educated Chicanas and the Distribution of Power and Control within the Family Structure

Like their high school educated Mexican counterparts, the Chicana participants, had in depth understanding and critique of machismo on both covert and overt levels. Like the Mexicanas, the Chicanas gave an analysis of how the unequal distribution of power

and control creates a situation of oppression that can be debilitating to women within the private sphere. Unlike the Mexicanas, the Chicana participants seemed to rebel more against machismo, and challenge not only their husbands but other family members who try to perpetuate machismo within the family structure. As one of the high school educated participant adamantly stated, “[Machismo] doesn’t affect me because I don’t allow it in my household.” This particular participant stated that it does not affect her, but she did not deny that it exists. Although she stated that she does not allow machismo in her household, she is still challenged with unequal distributions of power and control, yet she, like other Chicanas, challenges the powers that be, in attempts to regain control and power that could be used to oppress them. Similar to what the Mexicanas explained, the Chicanas are also confronted with situations of violence and exploitation, yet unlike the Mexicana counterpart, they challenge this exploitation openly rather than covertly. For example, one high school educated participant discussed how one day her father was advising her husband how to maintain control of his wife after he was first married.

He said, “when your wife gets out of control, if your women gets out of control all you have to do to get her back into control is wet the belt and hit her in the back. Because I did that with my other wives and believe me you have them in check.” (High school educated Chicana participant #2)

The participant explained that as a woman, she refused to allow her husband to have that much control over her. She explained that when her husband threatened to take her father’s advice, she did not allow him that power, but defused his control by exercising

her rights under the law. She told him, "You know what you go ahead and you'll see where your ass is going. I said, go ahead hit me and it will be the last time you hit me."

The participants also discussed how machismo affects the role of women in the family on more covert levels. They discussed how men place more value on work in the public sphere vs. the private sphere, thus justifying an unequal distribution of power and control in favor of the dominant male figure in the home. One participant explained how covert actions such as demanding a glass of water rather than asking politely for one, symbolizes the power machismo take from the women, as well as minimizing of the female role within the family structure.

My husband sometimes I like to do things for him. If he tells me, "can you please give me a glass of water?" I like to hear politeness not the demanding. I don't want him to say, "give me that!" Your reactions gets to the way they tell you, so if he tells me, "can you get me a glass of water" or whatever I'll gladly get up and do it. But some men say well, you are going to do what I say because I am the man of the house. I work, you know because a few years back, I was working off and on. My husband would say, "I bring home the money you know." "Ok you don't help me with the kids, it is 50/50 you work you bring home more money it don't matter." I work 7 days a week in my house. Seven days a week, never on call, I have to get up in the middle of the night with the baby, with the kids it's always, "mom, mom, mom." They come to me I don't get paid. (High school educated Chicana participant #2)

This participant's testimony showed how men and women struggle for power and control when machismo is brought into the home. As the participant explained, often husbands exercise their privilege to power over the other members of the household by stating that they are the "man of the house" especially when they are the breadwinners.

The College Educated Mexicanas and the Distribution of Power and Control within the Family Structure

The Mexicana participants discussed how machismo oppresses women by stripping them of power and control on covert levels, without the physical abuse described by the high school educated participants. One participant described the more covert forms of oppression by machismo as she discussed her struggle to learn to drive. The participant discussed how at the time she was not sure if her experience was a form of machismo, but she felt that it was worth discussing this issue because she recognized that the root cause of this experience reflected the same control men used to oppress and reduce the quality of life women often experience due to the ideology of machismo.

Mi esposo no me dejo el carro, no pude manejar. Entonces me afectaba porque no podia llevar mis hijos a la escuela, tenia que caminar. Y cuando mi esposo me dejo el carro ya fui a la tienda, fui al banco ya fui a la escuela, ya no me encuentra. Y cuando a uno le limitan, uno no puedo hacer nada. Es un buen ejemplo, a mi me paso. No se si era machismo, primero el dijo porque no tenia yo papeles, y me paraban una policia o algo, yo entiendo esto, era este un problema, me podian deportar, pueden quitar el carro, en este momento no teniamos mucho dinero. Y ya cuando estuvo el carro, paso un ano el carro estaba en el garaje, y me dijo, ya maneja. Y dije a una amiga, a que me ensenara a manejar. Pero ella nunca me

enseno. Tenia miedo y no se porque si no hablo espanol, y se fue. Hasta que mi vecina me dijo no se preocupa, te enseno. Agarraba las llaves, ya depende de uno, yo agarraba las llaves y vamanos. Ella me ensenaba en las mananas y yo manejaba. Si dependiria de ellos no manejara. Y cuando uno no esta en la casa, ya no esta uno porque esta haciendo mas cosas. Por ejemplo ya fui al banco, tenia mucho miedo ir al banco. Es muy diferente adentro de aqui que ni Mexico. Para que tiene que llenar un cheque, esto es machismo tambien que le cuesta a ellos a enseñarte a llenar un cheque? Es control. El machismo es control tambien.

(College educated Mexicana participant #2)

She continued to explain that women want to do more than just stay in their domestic space, they want to achieve dreams and goals the same as a male. She discussed that machismo confines one to their physical space inside the home, where they can't leave and pursue their goals both for themselves and their children.

No puedes hacer nada. Estas diario en tu casa, y tu quieres hacer mas cosas, pero te das cuenta que no puedes hacer cosas, es cuando ya sales. Ahora me siento fuerte y puedo sacar mis hijos adelante. Como un detalle chiquitito. Mis hijos quiere jugar un deporte. Ya no tengo que esperar que el venga y llevarlos al deporte. Quieres le digo a mi nino, quieres hacer este deporte?, me dice si, voy y yo le llevo yo le inscribo, hago todo que el tiene que hacer, ahora yo lo hago. Ya puedo hacer cosas. College educated Mexicana participant #2)

This powerful testimony showed how machismo so covertly hides in simple everyday things like access to a car or knowledge of driving. Machismo becomes more than just

control and power over a woman's movements within the private sphere, but it is the control and power which exploits, dehumanizes and devalues women as full functioning human beings, by limiting their access to resources that one needs to function in the world. As one participant summarized, "Tu quieres hacer algo, con el machismo de el no puedes llegar de mas" (College educated Mexicana Participant #2).

The College Educated Chicanas and the Distribution of Power and Control within the Family Structure

The participants in this subgroup like the college educated Mexicanas, discussed unequal distributions of power and control as a result of covert machismo. They discussed how machismo exists in everyday life in these covert forms. One participant discussed how machismo exists in everyday life in very covert forms while sharing a personal story involving the use of paper plates. Evidently, her grandmother had a large family and so to cut down on clean up the family would eat off paper plates, except for the male patriarch, her maternal grandfather, who held a position of privilege as the patriarch and would eat off of a ceramic plate. Eating off a ceramic plate was a privilege no one else in the family held but him.

I remember my Tia Carmen and one of my other aunts and I remember them pulling out the actual plate, a ceramic plate. Then I remember them looking at each other like what were they doing? Like kind of coming to the realization that what are we doing? (College educated Chicana participant #4)

The participant continued to say that machismo is a constant struggles and even though they are rebelling against it, subconsciously and covertly it exists, it has

programmed women to function under certain guidelines regardless of their contempt and struggle against it.

For me it's an everyday thing. I don't want that in my life even though I have to see it everywhere I go. It is a struggle, I mean who is to say next time I go to my grandparents' house and my grandpa is there from the nursing home eating dinner and who's to say I am not going to go and grab the regular ceramic plate even though he can use a paper plate like the rest of us can? (College educated Chicana participant #4)

The participants also suggested that machismo, like racism has become more covert in nature and is often less easy to identify. Like racism, machismo exists but has assimilated and become woven in the every day practices that it often goes unnoticed, and when it is noticed it isn't overt enough that it can be easily identified.

The college educated Chicana participants discussed how privilege in terms of space and access to resources contributes to the empowerment of the female voice to challenge inequitable distribution of control and power within the family structure. What the college educated Chicana discussed is that women realize that machismo exists whether they perceive it to be on an overt level or covert level. What they discussed in terms of addressing machismo and how that is done depends on the level of machismo one experiences. Depending on one's level of privilege, machismo is experienced differently by different groups of women, but regardless, it affects all of us. "You know it's an everyday thing, obviously. It's in every minute, every second. You know it's constantly there." (College educated Chicana participant #4)

The Chicana participants continued to discussed how privilege in the public sphere affords men power and control, in the private sphere the same privilege affords women the voice which is a form of power to challenge the oppression caused by machismo. It is this privilege, whether it is the privilege associated with being "American," or "Educated" that gives them the space and validation of their experiences to challenge and voice publicly their disapproval of machismo.

I think for some of the women, they have taken it as like they look at it and say, kind of like my grandmother, this isn't right and so this can't be the way it is. And they do their best and everything to try and not to make it that way. But then I think for others, I think it just depends, they deal with experiences in different way. So for some of them they haven't been able to actually to say or they know it's not right but they don't know the steps to actually change it. It's been how they've been able to interpret those experiences and what to do with it. I think a lot of the times we can recognize things are wrong, like racism, and racist experiences, like you recognize as a person of color that this is wrong, this is not right. But sometimes some of us know what to do with it and have the space to change it and other times we know it's wrong, but we don't know what to do with it and we don't have that space to change it or try to change it. (College educated Chicana participant #4)

As this participant discussed, there is a certain level of privilege associated with being American and having access to academia. As the participants have discussed through out the interview process, the privilege of being American and formal education, allows one

to access the space and resources to address the issues of machismo that are oppressing both men and women inside and outside the family structure.

Findings Conclusion

As the data has shown machismo is a very complex ideology based on patriarchal control and power. As presented, we have seen the terminology used to define macho, machista and machismo vary among the participants, based on gender and educational attainment level. Although definitions varied, the participants expressed the term machista as a negative label used for men who exhibit traits including control and violence towards women, while the term macho was shown to be perceived by the high school educated subgroups as being a positive label and often equated with the definition of manhood.

The participants in this study discussed a link between education and academic education and the perpetuation of machismo. The participants in general discussed how machismo is believed to be attributed to education or socialization from home. In terms of academic education achievement, the high school and college educated Chicanas felt that their access to academic space allowed them a social consciousness to critically analyze and challenge the dynamics of machismo.

In examining how social class and economics are linked to attitudes about machismo, the participants discussed this relationship in terms of power and control within the public sphere. The participants discussed how Chicano and Mexicano men experience a constant struggle for access to power and control in the workforce which contributes to

the male's attitude that machismo is a needed tool as they struggle against the structural obstacles that prevent them from achieving a position of power and control in the workforce.

In terms of assimilation/acculturation, the male participants felt that machismo is not affected by the need to assimilate into the American culture rather they feel machismo is an international ideology of patriarchy which exists in all societies. The college educated Mexicanas felt there was very little correlation between machismo and assimilation while their high school educated counterpart and the high school and college educated Chicanas recognized that assimilation into American culture affords them a sense of empowerment and agency that less assimilated individuals lack. The college educated Chicanas, unlike the other subgroups discussed how machismo becomes more covert as people become more Americanized, thus making machismo more difficult to recognize.

Although, each group viewed machismo differently, and the men in particular felt that machismo is a form of empowerment against the struggles faced in the work place. The women discussed the issue of machismo in terms of patriarchal power and control that oppresses women and the requirement that machismo change in form in order to exist under the current laws and rules of society. Unlike the men, the women did not make excuses for machismo as being a mechanism that is used to empower marginalized males, rather they viewed it as the mechanism used to further marginalize women.

Examining the relationship between capitalism and machismo both the male and female participants discussed how capitalism disenfranchises men of color in the public

sphere from accessing power and control. In response to this obstacle men access this power and control through machismo.

The participants in this study gave very powerful testimony of how machismo affects the distribution of power and control within the family structure. Although the men recognized that machismo oppresses and desempowers women, their testimony failed to reach the depths of severity that this causes to women both physically and mentally. The female participants gave countless examples of how machismo primarily affects women in the private sphere and becomes so oppressive that women become dehumanized as a result.

In conclusion, the arguments made by both the male and female participants show that machismo is an ideology that oppresses both males and females although this oppression manifests differently among gender lines. The key to understanding this manifestation is the concept of socialization or as the participants called it "educacion." Socialization has been discussed by the participants as both a social context in which men practice machismo as well as context in which women resist it. It is important to address the issue that socialization of men and women is not a concept unique to Chicanos/as and Mexicanos/as but rather it is a universal concept that is privileges men over women in almost in all cultures.

CHAPTER FOUR

ANALYSIS

OVERT VS COVERT

The data show that machismo is most readily understood in overt terms. Overt machismo is often the stereotypical characteristics that one often thinks of machismo, such as physical violence, dominance, control, boasting. Overt machismo can be understood as a more visible and often a more negative display of power and control. Often overt forms of machismo are equated with being machista, where control and power is achieved and maintained through physical dominance and violence. On the other hand, covert machismo is very discreet and is often hidden in the everyday dealings of life. It often goes unnoticed and undetected, unless one is actually critically analyzing the situation. For example, educated Chicana participant #4 gave a powerful illustration of covert machismo and how it hides in the everyday dealings of life and really goes undetected unless one has developed the social consciousness and critical mind to really analyze and understand the underlying dynamics that allow for this form of machismo to exist and continue. For example, in the previous chapter, college educated Chicana participant #4 shared a personal story about the use of paper plates and gives a powerful illustration of covert machismo and how it hides in the everyday dealings of life and really goes undetected unless one has developed the social consciousness and critical mind to analyze and understand the underlying dynamics that allow for this form of machismo to exist and continue. The participant discussed a daily ritual which occurs in her household where the patriarch of the family would have the privilege of eating off china while the rest of the family ate off paper plates. As this example shows, the act of machismo is not only the overt acts of exaggerated behavior, but rather it is the everyday

occurrences that are integrated into our daily lives that go unnoticed, yet create an unequal distribution of power which on the most basic levels privileges the male over the female. Simply the act of reaching for the ceramic plate instead of the paper plate without questioning the purpose of this act, is an illustration of how easily covert machismo creates unequal distributions of power, yet it goes unchallenged and most of time unnoticed. Like racism, machismo exists but has assimilated and become woven in the every day practices that it often goes unnoticed, and when it is noticed it isn't overt enough that it can be easily identified.

Often people, (women in particular) are hesitant to address machismo due to the fact that it is hard to challenge something that can not be explained or proven in concrete terms. Like in racism, often people of color are accused of "pulling the race card" by Anglos when they challenge the more covert racial acts that occur daily in the U.S. Women, also face the same challenge of being labeled, "man haters" or "over reacting" when they challenge acts of covert machismo. In the testimonies given by both the Chicana and Mexicana participants, remarks such as "I don't know if this is machismo" always precluded a story or experience of covert machismo as to indicate the hesitation to label a particular act machismo due to the fact that it was a covert act based on abstract traits such as power in-balances which are not concrete tangible examples that can point to and identify as machismo. This same participant also discussed the subtleties of covert machismo when it hides itself in language. Machismo becomes almost impossible to define when it transforms itself in the form of oral language. Due to machismo's ability to stay covert and hide behind language women find themselves questioning their

interpretation of a phrase or word that may hold machista connotations. For example, the following passage from an interview with one of the college educated Chicana participants demonstrates the covert nature of machismo in language.

There was a guy that was interested in dating me and I wasn't interested in him and but what really bothered me was the way he would say "oh how's my girl doing today," and I would think for me like maybe he didn't mean anything by it but for me but he hasn't actually sat down and critically thought about what that means. But for me looking at that it's, like "my" the word "my" it's like ownership. It's like "I'm in charge and these are how things are." Maybe I am reading too much into that or maybe people think I'm reading too much into that but I don't. And so being conscious of things and maybe it's just a phrase or maybe it's an another action that is more covert and interpreting that and bringing it to that person's attention or changing it to another form I think that's my way of actually trying to deal with it or not deal with it but change. (College educated Chicana participant #4)

Through her retelling of an everyday experience this participant discussed, how machismo exists on covert levels, embedded in everyday words. When examined with a more critical lens she explained how this can be very powerful and oppressive to women. Yet, at the same time, the same ideology has convinced women to second guess their social consciousness when addressing these terms. Women who have reached an awareness of how language can be both oppressive and violent, tend to have a psychological response to language that in one form or another desempowers or alters the

power dynamics of a woman. By a psychological response, I mean the little voice in all of us that says "hey something is not right here," the feeling of disempowerment.

Often women dismiss forms of covert machismo as merely "reading too much" into the situation. Due to sometimes the way covert machismo is so cleverly hidden, it is a lot like racism, they know it exists but it is hard to point it out as a concrete example.

This participant discussed how a simple comment such as "how's my girl doing today?" triggers something in her that causes her to feel belittled or reduced to the property of another male. As the participant explained, such a phrase is so subtle yet the words "my" and "girl" create a power dynamic where a man and woman are not on an equal plane. The possessive pronoun "my" signifies ownership. And by using the word "my" this male is asserting ownership over this woman's person and creates a position for himself that holds power over the female. At the same time the term "girl" is a way of maintaining control and ownership by reducing a grown woman into a mere girl and insinuating that, as a girl, she is helpless and vulnerable. The term "girl" in the minds of many people signifies a small, innocent, young and vulnerable female. Reducing a female from a woman to a girl, is a form of disempowerment because the female has been reduced to the state of helplessness and powerlessness that we often felt as young children. This language created a power struggle where the participant felt disempowered. The feeling of being patronized or belittled is very powerful. Yet because this action of machismo is so covert, and the participant discussed how she felt as though she may have been over-analyzing the situation. In this aspect, the psychological response to the phrase "my girl" creates an insecurity and often an inability

to validate one's emotional response to oppressive jargon, especially after one has been viewed not as an intelligent woman but as a helpless girl. The male is able to maintain this position of power in the conversation, because the machista act is so covert that the fear of being viewed as sensitive or over reactive allows the male to maintain a level of control, which prevented the participant from speaking up on her own behalf. Covert machismo is about struggle for power and control. So once a woman has lost that power in a conversation, she is less secure within herself to address the problematic terminology used against her. Feeling vulnerable, women automatically fear being accused of being overly sensitive, emotional or as the participant explained, being accused of "reading too much into it." Although this scenario may seem minute in stature, it is very powerful, because it perpetuates uneven power relations among men and women, where women are reduced constantly to mere property of a patriarch.

What this research project also shows is that machismo becomes more covert as educational levels increase, although economic class does not influence how machismo manifests itself. Machismo is not an ideology that is practiced only by the working class, but rather it is an ideology practiced by all men in response to struggles created by capitalism. Instead of machismo becoming more covert in the higher economic rungs, machismo becomes more covert as people attain more educational attainment, which often goes hand in hand with economic stratification, but for most of the participants in this study, economic stratification and educational attainment greatly differed due to a number of factors. In this particular study, the college educated participants were mostly from the working class. For the Mexican participants this was due to language barriers

and, for some, legal status which prevented them from holding a job in the middle or upper middle class rungs. The interviews revealed that as people culturally assimilate and become educated (especially in terms of the American system), the way in which machismo is practiced becomes more covert. As with racism, a more educated person is less likely to address a person of color with a derogatory term as a less educated person but this does not mean that the more educated individual does not express his/her racist agenda. It is still expressed, but in more covert forms such as referring to a person of color as "those people." Education just affords the person more covert ways to hide biases. Basically, education dictates a certain set of rules for social conduct, which in modern days has been coined political correctness. Thus, as machismo is practiced among the more educated public, it adapts to the social rules of this group, and becomes more covert and hides behind so called "politically correct terms" such as "my girl" rather than "foxy babe."

Educacion vs. Education

The Female Perspective

The participants suggested that the key to actual change in the ideology of machismo is not the academic achievement level, but rather the academic space in which to articulate and theorize how this change can occur. For the high school educated participants, they recognized and theorized on a real level the power dynamics of the ideology, yet they are not afforded the formal space in which to create change. This need for social consciousness and educacion are keys to the Chicanas' understanding of educational attainment and the ideology of machismo. The college educated Chicanas

viewed educacion not in terms of perpetuating machismo, but rather as a tool for developing social consciousness for combating it, which is a significant variant on the way the Mexicanas and high school educated Chicanas viewed it. This particular subgroup, believed that social consciousness in conjunction with academia was the key to combating machismo, more so than formal academia, because it empowers one with the lens to critically understand the dynamics of the ideology in order to change it.

The college educated Chicana participants appeared to be an anomaly in the sense that they conceptualized machismo, not only in terms of educacion, but in terms of academia as being a "safe space," which allowed them to develop skills to critically analyze and understand the dynamics of gender issues concerning machismo. In a sense, academia becomes not only a space of privilege for women where they can address issues of patriarchy, such as the phrase "my girl," but a place for understanding the dynamics, ideologies, and the ramifications of such terms. Academia gives women the privilege of putting these experiences into a concrete context in which they can be analyzed and conceptualized in order to make positive change. As one educated Chicana explained, being in a privileged space of academia allowed her to look at the ideology of machismo through a much more critical lens, which she may not have been able to do in a different space. She explained, "I have been trained by the academy to be critical in a certain way. I don't think it [machismo] does not exist in my world when it really is, and maybe that does mean it's more covert" (College educated Chicana participant #4). The participant discussed how although machismo may not necessarily be an overt element in the space she lives, her academic training has taught her to look beyond the immediate and

examine the world around her more critically. By being trained to think critically, she is aware that machismo still exists even if she can't see it, because in her particular space it manifests in more covert forms. The participant demonstrated how the college educated participants have access to spaces which allow them to examine machismo through the ideological lens of patriarchy and use that knowledge and critique to conceptualize their reality, while the high school educated Chicanas and Mexicanas who do not have access to this space, conceptualize and articulate machismo in more real terms. We see that education is not only a binary of social upbringing, social consciousness vs. academia, but rather it is academic privileged spaces vs. domestic spheres. Women who are confined to the domestic sphere or the private space, do not have access to formal ideologies and theories in which to label, validate and challenge their world and experiences. Though they don't have access to the formal analysis of machismo, they still conceptualize it in common terms of power and control. What differs from the high school educated female participants and the college educated participants is the access to an academic space which privileges those in that space with the opportunity to address the issues that affect their daily lives, and strategize in order to make change. Marie Keta Miranda discussed the concept of carving a space in order for often marginalized women to claim agency within the public space.

Making place is an act of agency, where people produce a way of doing things that reflects new identities within and outside of the power structures. Making place not only marks a core of periphery but registers the interconnection with the development of capitalism from nation-state to global power. (Miranda 2000, p.13)

As Miranda explained, claiming agency is the actual act of making a place within the power structures which reflects their own experiences and identities. For the college educated Chicanas, academia has become the space in which they are able to claim agency, but for the high school educated participants and particularly the Mexicana participants, there exists the need to find that space within the private and public sphere where they can reflect on their experiences. The access to formal education for the educated Chicanas has become their way of claiming agency, and is reflected in their sense of empowerment and confidence to challenge the ideology of machismo

Educacion vs. Education

The Male Perspective

The concept of education for the male participants takes on a different role than that which was discussed by the female participants. Education becomes more than a space for advocacy and change, but indirectly these male participants are indicating that education holds a hierarchal position over machismo in terms of empowering men. Less educated men become empowered by machismo, while more educated men use academia for empowerment. Thus, access to the academic space, gives men more access to positions of power and control in the public space. Education for the males is not a space for challenging white patriarchy, but rather it becomes a tool like machismo, for accessing power and control within the white patriarchal system. In looking at this comparison one must question the concept that academia for the college educated Chicano male is a more covert form of machismo since education, like machismo, religion, and capitalism is another form of institutionalized patriarchy.

Education is directly engaged with the capitalist ideology in the sense that education is the passage way from the private sphere into the public sphere. Through this institution, people sharpen and develop the skills they need to be successful in the public sphere. Without this institution, it is very hard for one to be successful in the capitalist market. Understanding that the capitalist system has been set up to maintain power and privilege of the White patriarch, education then becomes the key that allows the White male to gain the skills he needs to compete for positions of power, while it filters out or denies access to people of color. For the men of color who do gain access and passage to the public sphere through education, the academic skills they have gained now become a tool in which to compete for power and control. In terms of machismo, the ability to compete for power and control gives the Chicano male a greater sense of masculinity, since masculinity in the public sphere is defined by a male's ability to be successful and thus to be a provider. Although, the Chicano male because of racilization still suffers oppression and struggles in the public sphere, he does have a sense of superiority within the private sphere, because he is viewed as successful because of his academic background he is able to access a level of power that less educated males are unable to hold. He does not need to use physical characteristics of machismo to gain respect, because his educational attainment level commands that respect and power that he holds in the private sphere. It is interesting that, educated men are afforded a respect and hold power in families that an educated woman does not. For women, many times there still exists the mentality that it isn't as important for a woman to go to college as it is for a man, because men are expected to be providers and heads of household, while women are still expected to

maintain their role as domestic caretaker. There exists the unwritten rule that women are not intended to hold permanent positions in the public sphere but rather their roles are temporary or of an auxiliary nature until they are married and have families to take care of. Education, is centered around empowering the male to compete in the public sphere, it is the educated males machismo.

The Link between Education and Machismo

The analysis from the female participants showed that females and males view the link between education and machismo in the U.S very differently. Although both gender groups felt that both education and academia contributed greatly to the way machismo is learned and perpetuated in the private sphere, the men tended to discuss that the responsibility to make changes in the ideology in favor of equality for women, happens more so in the academic space and that it is the choice of the male to become educated on gender issues and apply them to his personal life. The female participants, as discussed earlier, gave a more complex analysis of education vs. education, and after close analysis of their stories, it appears that both Chicana and Mexicana women regardless of educational attainment, place the responsibility for change of the ideology on women. The implications that women do not have a space for social change and for developing the "social consciousness" that the college educated Chicanas discussed implies that women are viewing academic and social education as both the reason why machismo is being perpetuated generation after generation in the U.S as well as the link to making changes in the ideology.

Regardless of social class, nationality, or educational attainment level, the female participants as a whole, viewed women, and the role of the mother in particular, as the focal point for perpetuating machismo. Mothers are viewed in the traditional role as being the center of the home, and the responsible parent for child rearing and the "educacion" of the children. As one college educated Chicana participant powerfully discussed, she feels that the gender inequality and machismo continues in her house because her mother does not take the responsibility as the "authority" as far as child rearing, and fails to teach the boys that they are to be responsible for household chores, and instead expects the females in the house to cater to the males. Her analysis shown in the findings chapter, explains this.

You look at my house, my living room particularly, it's all the guys' clothes all around, I picked up everything. They were on the floor, on the sofa, over here....Is that right? Why is it that I always have to pick up after them? The little one is 14 and the other one is 25, I'm like, "they're your kids, mom. You have to be like the authority here and you're not doing it." (College educated Chicana participant #2)

What is particularly powerful about this testimony is that the participant places the responsibility for change on her mother as the authority figure of the private space, although she is fully aware that her mother does not hold the power that her father does as the patriarch. The concept that the mother is viewed as the focal point of the perpetuation of machismo by women is particularly powerful in the respect that the oppressed is being blamed or held responsible for her own oppression. As one Mexicana educated participant stated,

Yo pienso que es así porque se lo educado. Por ejemplo en el caso de la esposa, ella se deja es porque miro el reflejo de la mamá... Ella acepta el machismo, y el abuso de su machismo. (College educated Mexicana participant #2)

What is important to note is that, although Mexicanas and Chicanas both hold the mother figure accountable for the perpetuation of machismo, the Chicanas at the same time discussed the need for advocacy and space to make this change. Although they are aware that their mothers or aunts have not had the privilege, whether it is through the value placed on being American, or by having the space and academic education to make change, they are still held accountable for the inequality within the private sphere.

This continued belief that women are responsible for educating their children to adhere to the ideology of machismo, thus perpetuating a system of oppression for both themselves and their daughters, goes back to the concept of academic education serving as a form of machismo within the private sphere. As discussed earlier, educated males hold more power and control in both the public and private sphere, while educated females, become socialized into the role of "social broker."¹¹ Many of the Chicana participants, regardless of educational attainment level, find themselves in the role of social broker due to the fact that because of assimilation into the U.S, they hold power and privilege that their immigrant mothers often don't hold, while at the same time they are held accountable for a lot of the household dealings of the home as dictated by the machista ideology. In this respect, both the college educated and high school educated

¹¹ Social broker is a term used by many of the educated Chicana participants to describe their role as advocate for their immigrant parents in the public sphere. The tasks of the social broker, is to serve as a liaison between doctors, lawyers, teachers, banks or any institution in the public sphere.

Chicanas hold a unique position in terms of how educational attainment is linked to machismo. Because the Chicana participants are more assimilated than the Mexicana participants, this assimilation has created a bridge between the private and public sphere which the Chicana participants, through language, and academic education in American schools, have the tools to navigate between. Unlike the Mexicana participants, (who due to the lack of American education, and the social capital one acquires as one assimilates into American culture and becomes educated on how the public sphere operates), the Chicanas hold this “social education” and thus take the role as social broker or mediator within the family. One college educated Chicana participant describes the role of many Chicana women who serve as the social broker for their immigrant parents.

I’m the social broker. I’m totally the social broker of the family. There is no ifs ands or buts about it. I translate, I help with documents, I’m the lawyer of the family, I go like advocate for my parents. I’m the liaison between them and organizations, agencies or whatever, lawyers, hospitals, you name it. Um I am the ‘know it all’, and sometimes not, I’m the expert in things supposedly, like what do you think about da, da, da? Or I am the one I guess who is supposed to know where everyone is at. Like where’s your brother? Where’s your sister at? And I’m like “I don’t know.” I play a lot of roles. (College educated Chicana participant #2)

As both an academically educated woman and as a Chicana it is assumed she is knowledgeable about the workings of the American public sphere, and is required to wear the many hats of the social broker. In this sense, machismo more covertly obligated her to be “caretaker” on a social level for her family. Interestingly enough, this role of social

broker is not required of the male siblings within a family, regardless of their age or academic attainment, because as males they are privileged, and are not burdened with the responsibility of caring for the family. The role of social broker is required usually of the oldest daughter, as she is taught to take on the responsibility of caring for the family as is the role of the mother. The difference between the role of the Chicana social broker and that of the mother is that the social broker holds this role due to academic and social education received from the public sphere. In terms of being bi-cultural and being educated both in American institutions in the public sphere and socially within the private sphere, the Chicana's education allows her the privilege to move between spheres with relative ease, which the Mexicana participants struggle to do. In fact, many of the Mexicana participants have relied on the Chicana participants' knowledge of American culture and rights to serve as their advocate when engaging in subversive activities against machismo. Thus, education, whether it be in the form of academia, educacion, or American cultural values is seen by the female participants to be directly linked by one or all of these variables to the ideology of machismo. Because academia is an institution rooted in patriarchy, women who have a space in academia often have access to patriarchal power and privilege that otherwise is denied to them in the public sphere. The educated Chicana participants are more apt to take on a position of the social broker as well as challenge machismo within the private sphere. At the same time marginalized women, particularly Mexicana women look, upon the educated Chicana as a resource in the public sphere.

Assimilation vs. Naturalization

After examining the dyad of education vs. educacion, which holds cultural values concerning the way one conceptualizes the ideology of machismo, we must examine the issue of how acculturation and assimilation into American culture affects this ideology. Culturally, after one immigrates to the U.S, there is an assimilation that occurs in which certain cultural values are adopted or replaced. This is the way in which survival in the U.S occurs. In order to be a member of U.S society one must understand and participate in the mainstream value system. In this country, acculturation or what is known as "Americanization" (through which one assimilates or takes on the American culture) allows one access to power and control. For example, the term "White America" usually refers to the Anglo/White population who is in power of the majority of the resources, the reward of power and control is held at the higher rungs of the socio-economic scale. In order to achieve positions in these rungs, one must be assimilated or Americanized enough to be upwardly mobile. With the privilege of upper mobility and access to the rewards of the higher social economic rungs, men become less overtly machista because they no longer need the vehicle of machismo to access power and control but rather their class position rewards them due to the belief that being Americanized holds a value of success and privilege.

Due to the belief by males that machismo is a stagnant ideology in the United States, the males surveyed felt that machismo does not change as one assimilates into U.S culture. The males discussed the concept that machismo in the United States goes under a very slow change. Even though males are conscious of the way in which women are

affected, they are unwilling to relinquish the power and control that they are afforded by adhering to the ideology. For example, during the interview process, high school educated Chicano participant #1 described how men are aware that machismo is oppressive to women, yet as he explains they are not used to the idea that their perspective on gender relations needs to change in order to improve the lives of women. The participant stated, "we do understand but we just aren't used to it yet." The concept of being "used to it" refers to being used to the system set up in the United States where a racial hierarchy based on race, class and gender exists. For the male participants, the struggle that this may cause creates a situation where it is hard to maintain power and control, and the idea of sharing that power and control with women on any level is a difficult task. The participants discussed this as especially being difficult for immigrant males, who automatically are disempowered as immigrants due to language and laws which force them to assimilate into lower rungs of the capitalist hierarchy, where they as males are reduced to cheap labor. Finding themselves marginalized both in the workplace and in American culture is seen as a reason why men are less willing to change and more apt to adhere to machismo as a way of having a sense of power in a country that otherwise leaves them disempowered. "Poverty, inequality and machismo give men power and control when they don't have it any other way"(College educated Chicana participant #4).

Although women still experience oppression in the United States, they hold more privileges than women in more traditionally patriarchal countries. Due to feminist thought and ideologies, women in the U.S have social capital in forms of non profit

organizations and support groups that allow women to fight oppression, whether it is job discrimination or domestic abuse. Because of this, I believe women assimilate faster into American culture, because in some respects they gain privileges and access to resources that in their native country they did not have access to. In this way, assimilation becomes empowerment for immigrant women, yet it often requires males to become disempowered by relinquishing behaviors that are considered "macho." As the participants discussed, machismo does not disappear or lessen because the male wants to emulate the American male, but because the laws and resources allocated to empower women and give them access to the public sphere force the Mexican male to assimilate and transform more overt forms of machismo into more covert forms. For example, physical violence may become verbal, or convincing the female in the household that she does not need to learn how to drive may be another way the male holds power and control through machismo without breaking the laws.

The theme of assimilation and its effects on machismo showed very opposing perspectives and attitudes between the college Mexicana participants and the high school educated Mexican and Chicana participants and the college educated participants. The high school educated Mexicanas and the college educated/high school educated Chicanas discussed how assimilation into American culture means access to power and control for women, especially Mexicana women who view themselves as less empowered than the Chicana. This sense of empowerment was heard in the voices of the Chicana participants as they articulated and discussed examples of machismo and their refusal to allow themselves to be oppressed by machismo because they deem themselves "Americanized"

which in turn represents the privilege to access the law and system to fight the oppressions of patriarchy. As the participants discussed the more one assimilates into American culture, the more one stratifies into a social and economic rung that affords more power and control. For the women, Americanization means stratifying into a social rung of empowerment, not necessarily of economic empowerment, but one of social empowerment in which they have knowledge and access to resources and laws which allow them the voice and ability to fight machismo. Because assimilation into American culture affords empowerment, machismo is forced to go under the assimilation process as well. Although, machismo does not diminish as men and women assimilate or become Americanized, machismo is forced to become more covert in order to hide or "assimilate" into what is considered socially acceptable behavior in American society.

It is very important to examine the college educated Mexicana participants' perspective which greatly differs from the other female participants. The Mexicanas felt that there was no correlation between assimilation and machismo. They felt that socialization or educacion in the home was what either made machismo diminish or continue in American society. The college educated Mexicanas felt that if one is socialized all his/her life to abide by a machista ideology that Americanization will not be able to "undo" the socialization created during childhood. In analysis of the participant's viewpoints, one must consider the exposure to the Americanization process that the college educated Mexicanas have in comparison to their high school and Chicana counterparts. The high school educated Mexicanas tended to have more exposure to American culture and the Assimilation process because of economic necessities where

working class women are forced to negotiate life outside the home and in the workforce. The educated Mexicanas mostly participated within the private sphere of the home, did not work outside the home which I feel limits their knowledge of some of the oppression experienced in the public sphere, as well as the resources that exist outside the home to empower women, which in turn affects the way in which men and women interact. As Fregoso explained,

Unlike White middle-class women, Chicanas and other working-class women have historically worked outside (as well as inside) the home, and thus have not simply been confined to the role of housewife. Under modern capitalism, women of color and white working-class women have operated in both levels of the private sphere- in both market relations and the family, as both workers (producers) and mother/wives (reproducers). (Fregoso, 2003, p. 93)

In interviewing the college educated Mexicana participants, there was never the acknowledgement that access to power and control was associated with stratification into American culture. The high school educated counterparts on the contrary discussed how American culture afforded protection against the oppression caused by machismo. Although, the high school educated Mexicanas recognized that social stratification or assimilation into American society empowers women to fight oppression, they still didn't feel they held the same privilege to voice their feelings against machismo as their Chicana counterparts. The Chicana voice in the interviews was a stronger more empowered voice that refused to tolerate overt displays of machismo, and I believe this

strength exists because of the privilege of being viewed as American rather than an immigrant.

Power and Control

The Private Sphere vs. the Public Sphere

The conventional conception of private and public spheres imagines separate, complete and bounded realms in which the public sphere customarily stands in contrast with the private. Understanding the variable uses and meanings of the concept for examining culture and society, Jeff Weintraub (1997) notes the following ways in which the concept is advanced; the liberal economic model in which the public sector is that which falls under state administration and the private sector is the market economy (Miranda, 2003, p.79)

After examining the data the core theme that was apparent and which links the themes of covert machismo, education and assimilation together is the theme of power and control. The concepts of power and control have been central themes when explaining the dynamics of machismo and its effects on men and women. The theme of power and control has been articulated along gender lines showing that men and women perceive its effects differently from one another. In order to understand how men and women articulate the dynamics of power and control within the ideology of machismo, one must examine the binary spheres within which machismo exists. This binary has been articulated and understood in terms of private spheres and public spheres, each containing a core that begins with patriarchy. As Marie Keta Miranda explained,

The ideological effect of the public/private sphere split is the concept of the home

as a feminine space where patriarchy offers safety from work, commerce and the state. Overall, the feminist criticism has specified that the dual-spheres paradigm is about power. Recognizing the active interrelationship of the two spheres, feminist scholarship attempts to restructure the theory of difference without reviving binarisms of public and private that reify male authority and female dependence while closing off the interconnections of work, family, and the state. (Miranda, 2003, p.80)

The private sphere is where the family institution exists. Family is an ideology that is sanctioned by patriarchal institutions such as church and government, which control and define what “family” constitutes and who has the right to be part of the institutional structure. Because family has been and continues to be so heavily controlled by government and religion, two very patriarchal based institutions, the family structure in turn is based on the ideology of patriarchy. The family roles that are created under the structure of “family” thus are placed on a hierarchal system where power and privilege are determined by one’s gender and position. The head of the hierarchy is normally male dominated, with the head of the family as the father, who has the most access to power and privilege. Thus, as patriarchy creates and maintains these roles, the result is a non-egalitarian stratification of power and control within the private sphere. The Chicano family is a result of the intersections of power and multiple roles of the individual members in response to race, class, and gender stratification in society. It is in the private sphere that people, especially people who experience oppression in the public sphere find the space to create a system which they are empowered and can challenge the ideologies

and systems that oppress them. It's very important to keep in mind as Rosa Linda Fregoso (2003) has shown in her research on patriarchy and Chicano families that the division between private and public space is patriarchal based and not a cultural trait specific of Chicano families. The importance of Fregoso's work sets a framework to understand the ideology of machismo as a mechanism of patriarchy rather than as only a resistance against cultural genocide.

The social division of the private and public spheres into gendered spaces is not restricted to Chicano families, but it is endemic in modern patriarchal societies. Women's subordination within the family is in part premised on the artificial division of the social world into separate realms, but it is also based on the separation of the economic sphere of production from the domestic sphere of reproduction and the enclaving of childrearing from the rest of social labor. (Fregoso, 2003, p. 92)

Discourses valorizing the private as a site of resistance against repressive states, or as the ultimate repository of cultural identity should not let us overlook the fact that in, most instances, the integrity of the so-called 'private' is predicted upon the unfiltered operations of patriarchy. (Fregoso, 2003, p.76)

Power and control both within the ideology of machismo and outside of it exist within these spheres creating hierarchies based on race class and gender. Because these spaces are extensions of patriarchy these hierarchies ultimately privilege patriarchy, namely White patriarchy.

The public sphere is the space which holds many positions of privilege and subordinates people of color, particularly women. It is the public sphere that the institutions that enforce patriarchy occupy space and enforce a value system that values and privileges males, particularly White males over women and people of color. As college educated Chicana participant #4 explained, "I think it does really come from that privilege. Those men in power have all the privileges no matter what economic class they come from like they have certain privileges. Men are privileged because they are men." The concept that she discussed that men are privileged because they are men is very powerful. The privilege of being part of the patriarchal ideology, even though it is at the lowest rung, allows men of color to always have access to power and control no matter what their educational or economic status is because of the fact that they were born as males. As the participant explained in simple but profound terms, men of color will always hold privilege and access to some power and control that women of color will be denied because men of color are privileged because they are men.

In the public sphere capitalism becomes both the dominant institution and ideology that reinforces patriarchal privilege as well as social stratification based on race, class and gender. The public sphere as in the private sphere adheres to a patriarchal value system where males dominate the social hierarchy and hold positions of privilege which hold rewards of power and control. As in the private sphere, people are stratified in the social economic hierarchy, in this space the hierarchy exists with in the capitalist ideology. It is through stratification and the desire to achieve more power and control that create "power struggles" among the participants of the public sphere. Because the public sphere is

patriarchal based, it is designed to marginalize women as well as men of color from being active participants competing for positions that hold power and privilege, while it validates a male's masculinity in terms of his ability to be in a position of power and control. As Fregoso explained, "The ideal public sphere was White male, and propertied" (Fregoso, 2003 p. 13). It is this struggle that forces Chicano and men to create a subvert ideology and hierarchy where they are stratified on the highest rung of the hierarchy, as the White patriarch holds in the hierarchy created by capitalism in the public sphere.

Patriarchy by establishing and legitimating hierarchy among men (by allowing men of all groups to control at least some women), reinforces capitalist control and capitalist values shape the definition of the patriarchal good (1981b:27-28) ¹²

For the Chicano and Mexican male this private hierarchy exists within the ideology of machismo serves as a paradigm for private patriarchy as capitalism serves as the paradigm for public patriarchy. Machismo thus becomes a mechanism to enable men to reclaim their masculinity which often is challenged in the public sphere due to being stratified in lower economic rungs as part of the means of production rather than in the higher rungs as a controller of the means of production. As discussed, masculinity in the public sphere is correlated with a male's ability to control and have power over subordinate people, and the means of production. Often Mexican and Chicano men are stratified and exploited in the lower rungs where they don't have access to power and control, and feel disempowered as males.

¹² Rosa Linda Fregoso, 2003, Pp3

For the Chicano or Mexicano the workforce is economic slavery which contributes to machismo. In capitalism more than ½ the population is exploited whether we are aware of it or not. (College educated Chicano participant #1)

In response to this exploitation men feel exploited and disempowered, and they interpret this as a flaw in their manhood because masculinity and success are linked to having control and power over people and resources. For the Chicano/Mexicano, the only people stratified under them are women. Thus machismo becomes a way to compensate for the power and control that men are unable to experience in the public spheres. I think that the more struggles, i.e. discrimination and exploitation, one has to experience the tougher one has to become. I think that level of toughness is associated with machismo, hence it is perpetuated. Although my family and I have struggled I have had to develop a level of toughness, I try to use that to help me navigate the public spaces but maintain away from my family in the private spaces. (College educated Chicano participant #3)

This analysis alludes to the possibility that machismo is mobile and can transcend borders between the public and private sphere. In this example, an educated Chicano male has the academic knowledge to understand the inner workings of capitalism in the public sphere and he has learned how to negotiate this space in terms of engaging in some form of machismo without allowing this element to transgress into the private sphere where it can affect his family.

In this study, the participants articulated the manifestation of machismo in terms of both public and private spheres as a means to accessing power and control that both

spheres have recognized as rewards that men are entitled to under the ideology of patriarchy. Both males and females regardless of nationality or class view machismo in terms of struggle for power and control within patriarchal systems found in both public and private spaces. In terms of gender, I observed the way in which this struggle was articulated and who is victimized by it differs a lot in terms of gender. By this I mean that the male participants discussed issues of power struggle mainly in the context of the public space, and in the context of struggle caused by racism and classism that they face in the workforce. The male participants' analysis examined machismo through a public lens examining the stratification of Chicano and Mexicano males in the public sphere and how the economic and social rungs occupied by these men limit their access to power and control. Women on the other hand discussed the struggle for power and control, but they discussed power and control issues not only as struggles that men face in the public sphere, but the struggles that women engage in with men as machismo transcends into the private sphere. By examining this male female dyad, the participants give us an insight into the dynamics of power and control within two paradigms of patriarchy, machismo and capitalism.

Machismo and the Effects on Women in the Private Sphere

Under the myth of separate spheres the private realms relations of patriarchy tend to be assumed, and thus its political nature remains unexamined. Since politics and power are defined as public displays, the study of alternative politics and forms of empowerment produced in the private realm by women and children, siblings and kinship relationships,

and community networks are demeaned and insufficiently analyzed. (Miranda, 2003 p. 79)

As Marie Keta Miranda explained, often because power struggles and the politics which revolve around the access to power and control have been relegated to the public sphere due to the patriarchal bases which are rooted in the public sphere, the power structures and relationships in the private sphere often go unanalyzed. Alternatively what then happens is the issues of oppression of women and children go unanalyzed as the politics of the private sphere are respected as being off limits for analysis by the state or the public eye. Because machismo is an ideology that transcends from the public to the private sphere, and is patriarchal based in both spheres, it is able to oppress women and often go uncriticized due to the fact that what happens in the home is said to stay private. The relegation of women in the private sphere, dealing with private patriarchy thus calls for both a need for voice and a need for analysis and understanding of how patriarchy in the form of machismo affects women in the in the private sphere.

The data collected from the male participants shows this disparity in claiming voice for women in the private sphere. Although the male participants recognized that domestic violence is oppressive to women, and that this violence stems from the need to be in control, the men justified the need for some level of machismo within a family based on the fear of not being in control, but rather being controlled as the Chicano/Mexicano male often is in the public sphere. The men discussed the subordinate role of women as a "traditional value" which is given high esteem by the male patriarch, yet this value placed on the traditional role forces a woman to be subordinate to the male

and creates a power struggle, where the woman often desires and pursues more power than the patriarch is willing to share or relinquish. The high school educated male participants recognized that there are unequal distributions of power and control in the home that are not only unjust, but physically oppressive, yet the participants justified this inequality based on the concept of tradition. The code word tradition allows machismo to be accepted as a cultural trait that can not be changed rather than a social and political one. By adhering to the idea that machismo is a cultural value which socializes males to gender specific roles within the family structure, the participants in this subgroup justified machismo as a necessary component to maintain a successful relationship. The male gender role is to be provider which holds a higher level of respect and power than the female gender role of domestic engineer and child rearer.

Interestingly enough, if a woman pursues an egalitarian relationship she is often labeled an extremist or feminist in a derogatory sense because, as a feminist, she is seen as potentially challenging and winning power that the patriarch holds. There is the fear that by allowing women power and control, they will become independent of men, and men will not hold power and control over them because they are no longer in a position of privilege where they hold something that women do not have but need. By creating such a dynamic in the household, the male is held in high esteem and holds power and control to limit actions of the subordinate family members. As one high school educated Chicano participant explained in the previous chapter, "the woman needs the man because the man will always have a more strong mentality, stronger will"(Chicano high school educated Participant #1). This mentality brought into the family structure,

empowers the male while oppressing the female, by justifying the unequal balance of power and control based on perceived male superiority. Simply in the word choice this participant used, when describing the male, as having a stronger mentality indicates that the male justifies his power and control over his partner based on patriarchal privilege of being a man.

The difference between the college educated Chicano participants' analysis and that of the high school educated males is that the educated males attributed this to patriarchy. The participants discussed the power inequality between men and women in the family structure in both overt and covert terms. As far as covert terms, they discussed the role of protector and provider of the family. The male participants didn't feel this role is negative, but embraced this role as positive, and justified the unequal distribution of power and control based on the concept of privilege and reward assigned to the individuals who fill these roles. There wasn't any discussion or analysis of the idea that women are valued as vulnerable and are placed in a position where they need to be protected from other males. Although the participants did not realize the severity of their comments, they were basically saying women need to be protected from the violence of other male patriarchs. So in exchange for basic human liberty such as safety, women relinquish a certain amount of power to the patriarch as "protector." The frustration and the fear of losing control once achieved at some level, always is the mentality which perpetuates the machista behaviors within the family structure. This is due to the fact that in the public sphere, women hold rungs well below the man of color and are socialized into accepting such stratification, and this same ideology transfers into the private sphere

where it is perpetuated. The men in this study have expressed that there is a domino effect going on, starting with the White man and trickling down to the woman of color.

The female participants in this study gave voice to the oppression that the males talked about as they discussed machismo within the family structure. The female participants regardless of their nationality and educational level shared a wide range of experiences of oppression due to machismo. Their testimony gave more of an understanding of how machismo manifests itself and the way in which women are oppressed and how that affects them not only physically, but emotionally. Although, all the women suffer and voice oppression within the private and public sphere due to machismo, this oppression manifests itself differently among the four demographic groups.

The participants continued to discuss how the dehumanization of women is often like being a puppet, with the patriarch pulling your strings at will. As a puppet, you don't think, or have any say in what you do, because it is the person that holds all the strings that has complete control. "El machismo a la mujer es demasiado la hacen sentir que es como una marioneta sin voz, ni voto, o sea opinion propia" (High school educated Mexicana participant #1).

As many women expressed, the power dynamics created by machismo create a dehumanizing experience where women live in physical and psychological fear of their husbands, if they try to have a voice in their marriage or in their own personal lives.

La deja sin vida, las mujeres viven en miedo. El machismo tapan su vida, y ellos no pueden hacer nada sin el hombre, sin su permiso. La mujeres piensan que tienen capaz de nada sin el hombre. El hombre tiene todo poder sobre de ella, y no le trata

ni de ser humano. (High school educated Mexicana participant #1)

The very powerful statements of the female participants in this study explain how the ripple effect of disempowerment of males in the work place ultimately creates a situation where women are “dehumanized” and by going through a dehumanization process, become reduced to objects. As one participant explained, when machismo transcends into the private sphere from the public sphere, the distribution of power is so unequal that women feel devalued as human beings.

What the women in this sub group discussed is the idea of one’s validation as a human being is being taken away by machismo. These women articulated that because machismo allows for such a disparity in the distribution of power and control to women, that women are struggling within the private sphere to regain their validation as human beings. They expressed how, within the private sphere, their existence as humans is defined by the male. Their ability to measure success, and make choices in life is controlled and decided for them by the patriarch of the family. Since the patriarch wants to maintain control of the family, the best way to do that is to make the subordinate members of the family dependent on him for their existence. Such dependence includes having to ask permission from a husband or patriarchal figure to leave the house. Although this description may seem very extreme, it is important to recognize that machismo is an extreme ideology that has the capacity to dehumanize women. It is important to recognize that machismo may not manifest itself so overtly in all rungs of society, yet, the articulation from women of all walks of life, is similar. Women feel that machismo creates not only an unequal distribution of power and control, but that the

power and control that men have is being used to dehumanize women, whether it is overtly as the above description or as a more covert incident as our Chicana participant explained when discussing terminology such as “my girl,” to reduce a woman to be owned by another man.

The confinement to the private sphere is another way that not only dehumanizes women in the sense that they become property to be owned and controlled by the male patriarchal system in the private sphere, but also it insures that women are not active participants in the public sphere.

Fregoso remarks on the home as a space of confinement (re-confinement for women wage workers): Masking as a concern for their safety, the confinement of girls to the home is the first and foremost about protecting sexual property, about policing sexuality. (Miranda, 2003, p. 85)

As Fregoso explained, women are confined within the private sphere based on the ideology that their sexual virtue must be preserved and protected. In reality women become dehumanized to the point in which they become sexual property of the patriarch. As the male participants have discussed, there is always the fear of a woman taking control, taking the little power that they have earned in the public arena. Through the dehumanization process women are unable to achieve this in the public sphere, because in the public sphere one not only needs to be human, but a male human. An example of this experience was given by the participant who discussed how limited her life was within the private sphere because her husband denied her access to a car by not teaching her how to drive. As the participant showed us, machismo empowers men so that they

have the power to oppress women from doing the everyday things such as drive or cash a check. Although the participant came from an educated background in Mexico, in the United States she was confined from participating in the public sphere due to machismo. Being denied access to a car and a driver's license may not be readily defined as machismo, but this participant felt that it was a form of machismo because it oppressed her to the point that she was dependent on her husband for everything, and she was unable to function in the public space without him. If one examines the concept of a driver's license as a regulation by the state (public sphere), which decides who can have the privilege to drive and who can not. The patriarch in the private sphere in this particular scenario takes on the same role as patriarchy does in the public sphere and regulates the license or privilege to move freely via driving. The situation described by this participant mirrors this same oppression that is created by the state of California, which denies driver's licenses to undocumented workers. By denying them the privilege to drive, the state ensures that they remain oppressed and isolated where their only function is to be a continual source of cheap labor with the public sphere.

This powerful testimony shows how machismo covertly hides in simple everyday things like access to a car or knowledge of driving. Machismo becomes more than just control and power over a woman's movements within the private sphere, but it is the control and power which exploits, dehumanizes and devalues women as full functioning human beings, by limiting their access to resources that one needs to function in the world. As one participant summarizes "El machismo les afecta porque la mujer no esta valorada, entonces es el vehiculo de explotacion a la mujer" (College educated Mexicana

participant #2). The concept of exploitation of the women through machismo carries the connotation that women are not only being controlled but exploited. By exploiting an individual, one causes that individual to be reduced to a state of vulnerability and powerlessness where they are used for the personal gain of the oppressor. Machismo reduces women to such a state in which they feel dehumanized and exploited although the ramifications vary from physical harm to psychological ramifications.

Claiming Agency

Although patriarchy is enforced on all women, it is not enforced in the same way.

Different groups of women have different value in the service of patriarchy, differences that are largely determined by race, ethnicity, class and sexuality.

(Hurtado, 2003, p. 166)

The Chicana participants challenge the authority that machismo affords the male within the private sphere, unlike the Mexicanas, they expressed assertiveness and a more empowered voice. It's important to examine why the Chicanas felt more empowered to speak out against oppression while the Mexicanas college educated or high school educated are more reluctant to voice her disapproval openly and resorts to subversive measures.

The participants in this study all understood that machismo oppresses them in one form or another. Though the discrepancies in the way that this oppression was challenged lies in the space and privilege they hold to make these changes. For the college educated and high school educated Chicanas, due to knowledge of women's rights, and the privilege of being born in the U.S affords a privilege and a power that their

immigrant sisters have not yet developed. For the Chicana, the social capital and the privilege of being American born, allowed these women to voice and challenge machismo within the family structure, and resist oppression. We see examples of this as in the scenario that the Mexicana participant who subverted the rules and orders set by her husband by learning to drive when her Chicana neighbor not only encouraged her to take the keys but taught her to drive.

Mi vecina me dijo no se preocupa, te enseno. Agarraba las llaves, ya depende de uno, yo agarraba las llaves y vamos. Ella me enseñaba en las mananas y yo manejaba..Si dependeria de ellos no manejara. (College educated Mexicana participant #2)

The participant discussed her empowerment as a result of resisting machismo through subversive activities, which empowered herself and her children, in this particular case, her resistance came in the form of not accepting her husband's refusal to teach her to drive, and finding a way to learn. What differs, is not the question of whether machismo exists or not, but how it manifests itself in the different family structures and how it is challenged by the women in those families. What this participant's experience shows is that although machismo manifests itself in covert forms, the control over women is equally oppressive as the more overt physical forms of machismo. As the participant stated, now that she can drive, she feels empowered and that she can do things for herself and her children. She explained that with machismo a woman is submissive and is dependent on the man for every movement in life, although the Chicanas may hold more

power in the family than the Mexican women, machismo as the participant explained, affects them all on a daily basis.

The dividing factor between what empowers the Chicana participants and desempowers the Mexicana participants is the space to claim agency. Whether they have access to formal academia or not, the Chicanas have the space that the Mexicanas do not have to make change in the power structures within the private sphere. The role of the Chicanas as social brokers allows them privilege and access to resources in the public sphere that the Mexicanas are often denied because of their forced confinement to the private sphere. Because Chicanas have been placed in the role of social broker they have created a space to move between both spheres, and this ability allows them to have access to public spaces which in turn represents access to some spaces where women can have a voice, and gain access to resources.

The Voice of Empowerment

This study has served as a voice for women who normally don't have access to formal academia or public institutions. The excitement and desire on the female participant's part to participate in this study was at times overwhelming. Women, particularly immigrant women, have the need to voice their stories and find solidarity among other women. Throughout this process, women who had participated in this project or those who had heard from the participants about my work were constantly asking me about the progress of this piece, and when they would be able to have a copy. For many women, this is the first time that not only have they been given a space in which to articulate and engage in critical analysis of their lives, and for most the idea that

their experiences were being validated was a significant step in their quest to claim agency. This need to have access to academia and the space to articulate their needs for change has been the underlying message that these women have expressed, yet the barriers that they must overcome have often prevented them from accessing this space. For many of the women in the community that I conducted my research, this project has been viewed as the voice of the Chicana and Mexicana women who struggle everyday to make change for themselves and their families. Although this project is a small drop in the bucket in terms of research, it has become the voice of many who in the past have remained silent.

In terms of claiming agency, the participants have expressed their excitement and anticipation for the actual finished document. Although they understand and eloquently articulate their experiences and struggles, they have placed a lot of faith in academia to find an answer or a solution to their struggles. As a member of academia, I can only say that the solution to the struggles created by patriarchy lies in providing a space for those who are actively experiencing the oppression. As these women have shown in this study, they need a space where they can analyze and critique their experiences and create a plan for change.

CHAPTER FIVE

CONCLUSION

This study has revealed that machismo is an ideology which is deeply rooted in patriarchal tradition and social beliefs. Machismo is an ideology that is adopted and practiced by both Mexicans and Chicanos in Mexico and in the United States. It is not a biological trait with which a man is born, yet it is often mistaken for masculinity. Machismo is a set of ideological beliefs which privileges men with access to power and control over women within the private sphere. It is a set of covert and overt manifestations that are exercised by men in the public sphere as a response to the struggles they experience caused by capitalism. Men feel exploited and disempowered and interpret this as a flaw in their manhood because masculinity and success are linked to having control and power over women and the means of production. Machismo in the public sphere becomes a vehicle with which to compensate from the lack of power experienced in the public sphere, where Chicano and Mexicano males are stratified at the lower rungs economically and where historically they hold less power and control.

The data from this study has shown that there is a lot of ambiguity when using the terms macho and machista. For the male and female high school educated participants, regardless of nationality, the data shows that macho and machista are viewed as a binary, where macho is seen as a positive term for a male who is stoic, a provider, and protector. Machista on the other hand is viewed in a negative light as a male who exerts, overt forms of machismo such as being violent, sexually promiscuous, jealous etc. Within this binary, exists the concept of covert vs. overt, where the term macho is used to describe the more covert forms of machismo, while machista is used to identify a male who

practices the more overt traits. As the data shows, the educated participants use these terms interchangeably, especially when discussing overt machismo.

The research indicates that education whether it be educacion or academic education is responsible for the perpetuation of machismo in American society as well as the way in which it is manifested and is understood by the participants in this study. As the data shows, the Mexican participants and the high school educated Chicana participants discussed machismo as being influenced by educacion rather than education. They discussed how males are reared at home and are socialized to adhere to a machista doctrine that privileges men with control and power over women in the private sphere. The college educated Chicana and Chicano participants offered an alternative perspective to the educacion/education dyad and discussed how academia provides a space in which one can validate and analyze their experiences with machismo to formulate a critical understanding of the dynamics that perpetuate the ideology. Like the other participants they discussed educacion, but they interpret educacion as a social consciousness rather than an element of domestic socialization of gender roles. The college educated Chicanos/as expressed that empowering critiques of machismo are influenced by a combination of academia and educacion in the form of social consciousness which allows Chicanos/as to deconstruct and to understand the dynamics of this complex ideology.

The study reveals that machismo tends to manifest itself both in overt and covert forms. The covert forms are a lot like racism; they become integrated into everyday society and although the participants, particularly the women, understand that there is something wrong, it is often difficult to pinpoint and identify. The data revealed that

often the traits that the participants embraced, such as men as protectors, providers, and gentlemen, were the same traits that machismo hides behind to oppress women. The female participants often second-guessed their analysis of machismo, because of its covert nature, and were reluctant to label it as machismo since society has taught them to embrace these patriarchal traits as a positive. The data reveals that the educational attainment level and the privilege of being in the academic world allows women to more critically understand and identify covert machismo, which is more difficult for the high school educated participants to do since they have not been afforded the same opportunity and privilege.

This study demonstrates that machismo is an ideology in which there exists a constant struggle for power and control by maintaining one member of the struggle in a subordinate or inferior position. U.S society, based on the ideology of a White patriarchal system, creates a power struggle among men, in which men must fight for respect and honor as defined by white patriarchy. White patriarchy defines success as possessing power and control over people and resources. Within this system, women and men of color are deemed not as a human participant, but as an object to be controlled.

The data from this study suggests that economic status does not play a role in machismo as far as perceptions of machismo. Machismo does not disappear in the higher social rungs, but rather it becomes more covert as people assimilate into American culture and earn privilege associated with being "American." Assimilation and educational attainment levels are determinants of how perceptions of machismo change between borders. Although economic status does not play a role in the way machismo is

perceived, it is the economic stratification of males in the public sphere that creates a struggle for power and control that is denied to them because of racialization, which is a tool used by White patriarchy to stratify men of color. Due to this racialization, men are unable to compete for the power and control that is equated with being a successful male. In response to this struggle, men adhere to machismo as a way to navigate themselves and claim agency in the public space. As the data shows, machismo does not stay in the public sphere, as a tool for success, but it transcends into the private sphere creating a hierarchal structure which emulates the public sphere, with the difference that the Brown man now holds the elite position of power and control over people and resources.

The study shows that once machismo transcends into the family structure, women engage in a struggle for power and control with men due to the fact that a hierarchal structure of power is created now in the private sphere, where Chicano/Mexicano males are at the top rung and women hold positions at the bottom rung. The data shows that women experience oppression as a result of machismo manifesting itself in the family structure. Such oppression varies from physical, domestic abuse to more covert forms of oppression where men hold privilege and control over women such as in the scenarios of having the privilege to eat off of a ceramic plate or the privilege to drive a car. The manifestations of such violence and oppression of women differ not among economic and class rungs but along educational attainment and assimilation levels. The data indicates that as Chicanos and Mexicanos assimilate and become more "Americanized" and attain higher levels of educational attainment, machismo becomes more covert and more difficult to recognize as men and women become more assimilated and educated,

especially about women's rights. For example, in the U.S, a third or fourth generation Chicano male may be less apt to physically abuse his wife because he has the educational and social background to recognize the ramifications of this form of oppression, yet because machismo becomes more covert for his demographic, he may still be insistent on walking on the outside of the street when in the company of a woman, in order to serve as her "protector." Regardless, if machismo is overt or covert, it oppresses and perpetuates violence against women. A person may think there is nothing wrong with a male wanting to protect a woman by walking on the outside of the street, as society has socialized him to do so, but we must look at the ramifications and implications of this. We must question why women need to be protected. As Ana Castillo asked, "the basic question for women regarding machismo is not only what are men protecting us from, but why?" (Castillo, 1995, p. 67) Simply the concept that women are in physical danger of being harmed by other males, whether that be rape, murder or domestic abuse, is a form of oppression because it creates fear and limits women's movements in the public sphere. And, in the case of a male as a protector, as covert as that may be, machismo is limiting a woman's freedom to safely move between public and private spaces without the permission and protection of the patriarch. In this respect covert machismo is as violent and oppressive as the overt form, because although it may not leave physical scars, it creates psychological scars and threats of violence and oppression by disempowering a woman in both public and private spaces. As Rosa Linda Fregoso explained,

The policing of feminist public talk about inter community violence are also rooted in the hierarchal ranking of oppressions-the notion that struggles against oppression

based on class and race is more important than those against sexism and homophobia. This perspective privileges masculine definitions of violence and violation, in particular public, state violence over private (familial) forms of violence and fails to recognize the role violence plays in reproducing all forms of hierarchies. The emphasis on the public (state) violence directed against men in the community often obscures the domestic forms of violence against women, children and the elderly. Such a perspective depoliticizes the site where the most vulnerable members of the community experience violence (in the family sphere) and downplays the significance of familial forms of violence, including incest, pedophilia, and rape. (Fregoso, 2003, p. 33)

Fregoso's words are very powerful and echo what we have heard the participants constantly voice, that there exists violence in the private sphere that often goes silenced by the violence that happens in the public sphere. As Fregoso mentioned and as we have seen from the research the hierarchies that are created in the public sphere are again replicated in the private sphere where women are being oppressed and their voices silenced. I believe listening to the voices of the participants in this study is one step in recognizing that the violence that occurs in the private sphere to women is as serious an issue as the violence that happens to men in the public sphere.

Overview of Key Ideas

- Machismo is a set of covert and overt manifestations that are exercised by all men, not only Chicano/Mexicano men in the public and private sphere as a response to struggle.
- Machismo becomes more covert in higher rungs of the educational hierarchy rather than the higher rungs of the economic hierarchy.
- Education whether it be education or academic education is responsible for the perpetuation of machismo in American society.
- Academia and education in the form of social consciousness are tools used by College educated Chicanos/as to deconstruct and understand the dynamics of machismo.
- Machismo does not disappear in the higher social rungs, but rather it becomes more covert as people assimilate or become "Americanized."
- Machismo transcends into the family structure where women engage in a struggle for power and control with men due to that a hierarchal structure of power is now created in the private sphere, where men hold all the power.

Concluding Thoughts

This study has been more than a quest to understand male masculinity in the Chicano community, but it has been an important project that has given voice and has created a space for women to address the issues of oppression within the family structure. The female participants, regardless of nationality, class and educational level, were eager and appreciative to have the opportunity to voice their experiences about machismo. For a lot

of these participants, simply the validation that this study gives their experiences has been a form of liberation. The participants have encouraged me as a researcher and as a woman to continue my work as it is important for these women that their stories be heard. There is the hope through understanding the root causes of machismo and other patriarchal forms of oppression, one day we may find a way to end gender based oppression. This study is a small attempt to reclaim some of the power and control that machismo has taken away from women across all class and national borders. As the old adage states "knowledge is power." As one of the college educated Mexicanas states,

En lo personal considero y tengo el conocimiento suficiente por entender esta situacion de conducta. Al mismo tiempo considero que si es muy importante este tipo de encuestas ya que estas cosas no se hablan directamente con nadie por miedo o temor, o cualquier otro motivo. Los felicito y les deseo exito. En este tipo de proyecto para de una vez por todas terminan con el abuso de este tipo de personas.

As I worked on the analysis and editing of this project, I had the opportunity to speak to Chicano males, mostly educated males about my work. The interest in my work was overwhelming, and the encouragement and request to read my final analysis came very much as a surprise to me given the difficulty I had in obtaining male participants. From the informal discussions I had with these Chicano males, it was expressed to me the importance for them as males to understand the ideology of machismo which so many Chicano males are raised to follow. From conversations, I found that most males recognize the ideology to be oppressive to both men and women, yet due to the lack of

knowledge on why and how this ideology manifests itself, they are unable to challenge and subvert against machismo.

Further Research

This study has revealed the need for further research on the need for women's spaces in working class areas where women can voice their needs and create change that is meaningful for them. The implications of this study have shown that women are not only isolated in the private sphere, but they have the need for a space of their own in the public sphere where they have voice and a form of agency. This implication may lead into further research on how working class women can create this space and the impact it will have on the family and the empowerment of women.

I feel it is important that the research move towards not only helping women exercise their voice against oppression but also we must encourage men in academia to address the issues of their own patriarchal baggage and the consequences that arise from it. Educational institutions must start implementing gender studies programs that are well funded and offer a wide range of perspectives and opportunities for both men and women to explore gender issues and how oppression is perpetuated through gender. It's important that research and educational institutions move beyond the concept of patriarchy being the root cause of oppression, and that we move towards dialogue that will deconstruct patriarchy and hopefully end gender related oppression such as machismo.

Research must also be directed towards the population that does not pursue higher education. Its important that research projects be done to not only help the males and

females deconstruct patriarchy, but that they have the opportunity to develop social consciousness in order to begin dialogue on making social change in terms of gender issues.

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APPENDIX

APPENDIX A

Survey/Interview Questions – Correlated to Research Questions

Research Question #1 How do Mexican and Chicano/a women and men define the terms “macho”, “machista”, and “machismo”? Are these definitions positive or negative? How do these definitions compare and contrast?

Interview Question 1. What is your definition of machismo, and the words macho and machista?

Sub question #1a Do you know some one who fits that definition?

Sub question #1b Why do you think they are that way?

Sub question #1c Do you fit that definition? Why or why not?

Interview Question 2. How does a person learn to be macho/machista?

Interview Question 3. Why is machismo equated with being a man?

Research Question# 2. How is educational attainment linked to attitudes about machismo?

Interview Question 4. Do you think a person' educational attainment level influences their perception of machismo? Why or why not?

Interview Question 14. Did you go to school in the U.S or Mexico?

Interview Question 15. What is the highest level of education completed?

Research Question #3. How is economics and social class linked to attitudes about machismo?

Interview Question 5. Do you think economic and social class influences people's attitudes about machismo? How do they influence your own attitudes?

Interview Question 12. According to your annual income would you consider yourself

upper class, middle class, working class?

Research Question # 4. *Do acculturation and or assimilation influence perceptions of machismo?*

Interview Question 13. Were you born in The U.S?

Interview Question 16. How do you identify ethnically, Hispanic, Mexican, Latino, Chicano, Mexican American, Mexicano/a American of Mexican descent, Spanish American or American?

Interview Question 17. What language do you speak mostly at home?

Sub Question #17a What language do you speak with your friends?

Interview Question 18. Do you prefer to watch English television or Spanish television?

Interview Question 19. Do you prefer to listen to English radio or Spanish radio?

Interview Question 6. Do you think views of machismo change as people become more Americanized if so, how do they change?

Interview Question 20. Are the people at the places where you go to have fun and relax mostly Latino or Anglo?

Research Question # 5. *If machismo is an ideology, a set of beliefs, then can women be "macha", especially in the role of head of the household or matriarch of the family?*

Interview Question 7. Can a woman be considered "Macha" or "machista", if so under what circumstances and how would she behave?

Research Question # 6 . *Does Capitalism perpetuate machismo? Does this affect men and women differently? If so how?*

Interview Question 8. What struggles in the U.S perpetuate machismo and how does this affect men and women?

Sub question # 8a How does this personally affect your life?

Interview Question 9. Do you think a Chicano or Mexican male's position or job in the

work force has an affect on machismo?

Research Question # 7. *How do the perceptions of machismo influence behaviors of Chicano/as and Mexicano/as and the distribution of power within the family?*

Interview Question 10. How does machismo impact or affect you and your family member's daily lives?

Sub Question 10a. How do you perceive yourself within your family structure?

Interview Question 11. How does machismo affect or impact women within the family Structure?